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Soviet Historian: Perestroyka Continues Movement Begun by Great October
*18300117a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 5 Nov 88 p 6*

[Interview with Pavel Vasilyevich Volobuyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the Complex Problem of "The History of the Great October Socialist Revolution"; interview conducted by publicist Lev Ovrutskiy: "Problems and Opinions": "October: History and Historians"]

[Text] Everyone knows that anniversaries are the best occasions for discussing problems, of which there are quite a few in the field of history. Therefore the only condition for this discussion between publicist Lev Ovrutskiy and Pavel Vasilyevich Volobuyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy and chairman of the Academy's Scientific Council on the Complex Problem of "The History of the Great October Socialist Revolution," was that the conversation should leave out a recitation of "definite achievements" and instead begin with a look at "certain shortcomings."

[Ovrutskiy] I think that it would be correct when speaking of the current situation in the field of historiography to use the 20th Party Congress as a point of departure, a time when both society and science woke up from a long period of unconsciousness. Obviously the process of renewal continued and gathered momentum for a decade at least. Yet by the end of the 1960's the science of history began to be infiltrated, at first weakly and then to an ever greater extent, by an influx of what we have come to call stagnation. By the early 1970's one would have had to be blind not to notice the deceleration and decline. The hardest blow was struck against the so-called "new direction" in historical science, represented by P. V. Volobuyev, I. F. Gindin, K. N. Tarnovskiy, L. M. Ivanov, M. Ya. Gefter, V. V. Adamov, A. Ya. Avrekh, A. A. Anfimov and other historians. Many of them saw not only their careers ruined, but also in a quite literal sense their entire lives. You yourself were fired by the director of the USSR Institute of History and forbidden to publish. Others were also silenced. Pavel Vasilyevich, how would you briefly characterize the approaches taken by the "new direction"? What is it exactly?

[Volobuyev] Above all it is an attempt to get away from Stalinist diagrams and unscientific sociological stereotypes, to provide a more realistic picture of the social and economic preconditions of the revolution and the significance of the mixed nature of the Russian economy, as well as a typology of capital in Russia and the array of classes and political forces during the October Revolution (in fact, this is what we are working on at the present time). Sanctions against the "new direction" were merely one aspect of the repressive mechanism by which zones of stagnation were created in scientific work on the October Revolution, over which zones a monopoly was held by historians who had a personal interest in seeing them

protected. But, to its credit, even then historical science did not come to a standstill. By avoiding the forbidden zones substantial progress was made during the 1970's and early 1980's with regard to the study of the non-proletarian political parties; this enriched our perception of the relationship of classes and political forces in our country during the years 1917-1920.

Most unfortunately the number of publications—books and articles—devoted to the Great October is declining with each passing decade and even with each passing year. There has been a large drop in the appearance of new collections of documents, especially archival materials. The number of specialists doing research on the history of the Russian revolutions, including the October Revolution, is also decreasing.

[Ovrutskiy] Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya once spoke of "sociology without sociologists"; what you are talking about is "history without historians."

[Volobuyev] Indeed, there are virtually none left in Moscow State University's Department of History, and the cadre situation at Leningrad State University is only slightly better. We will greet the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution with only a pitiful handful of October specialists if this trend persists.

We must take steps of a radical nature in order to halt this unhealthy tendency. We need to expand our training program for young specialists and renew broad publication of documentary sources. The protocols of the Petrograd Soviet for 1917, the Council of People's Commissars for 1917-1918, the All-Union Economic Council Presidium and other valuable sources are awaiting publication. The public is talking about publication of a bibliographical guide to participants in the revolution, and this should be done, and as soon as possible. It is also high time we published a special "October Revolution History Annual" that would contain articles devoted to controversial subjects, new research and problem analysis.

"Something Almost Divine"

[Ovrutskiy] There is undoubtedly a connection between the ideology that deifies one personality and the teleological views on the history of the revolution that are clearly evident in certain works by party historians. The inevitability ascribed to developments borders on predestination. The logic that "it happened that way because it could not have happened any other way" is worthy of Chekhov's retired police chief. Does it not seem to you that F. Mering's trenchant description of the "priests of the Marxist approach" remains timely today as well?

[Volobuyev] There is no doubt that his characterization is timely, although I prefer to speak of a sort of "Marxist fundamentalism." Of course, teleological views are sown by the traditions of those "ideologues" who served Stalin's personal power regime. This is a heritage—not, I hope, a lasting one—consisting of a complex of sectarian,

dogmatic stereotypes. Nothing is more antithetical to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, which swept away slavish devotion to dogmas and authorities, as presentation of the revolution as one huge, benevolent icon. And we must decisively renounce this decades-long iconization of the revolution. We must see it as it was, with all its contradictions, difficulties and mistakes. Remember how Lenin scathingly ridiculed the revolutionaries who elevated the revolution into "something almost divine."

[Ovrutskiy] In one of his last articles, "On Our Revolution" to be exact, he sympathetically quoted a quote ascribed to Napoleon, which can be translated roughly as: "Everything becomes clear once one is engaged in serious battle." However, even in many recent works it appears that the situation then could not have been better: everything down to the smallest detail had been thought out and foreseen. Theory triumphed, practical matters meekly submitted, and not the slightest event occurred throughout the entire country without in-depth methodological preparations.

[Volobuyev] Indeed, the problem of the theoretical preparations for the revolution has often been dealt with in an overly simplified manner, virtually in caricature form. Reading our books one might imagine that Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw everything clearly in advance down to trivial details, and that the theoretical postulates and slogans put forward by the party were all implemented 100 percent or even more. It is indisputable that no other revolution in world history has been provided with such thorough scientific and theoretical groundwork as was the October Revolution, primarily thanks to the unprecedented scale, intensity and depth of V. I. Lenin's theoretical work. Therefore it also represents a synthesis of the revolutionary upsurge of the working masses and scientific prescience. The lesson of the October Revolution is that at crucial points in history what is required of a vanguard revolutionary party is not merely application of previously elaborated theoretical postulates, but also a bold rejection of outdated concepts and formulation of new ideas, i.e. in **qualitative renewal of revolutionary theory**; for the first time Marxism was combined with the living revolutionary practice of the masses and was tested by it. In this way the principle of "feedback" is fully operable—a connection between theory and the social experience of the masses as the source of theory and the criterion of truth. We should recall how many seemingly indisputable truths the party had to renounce when it was discovered that they did not correspond to the new historical conditions. These included the postulate of a simultaneous victory of socialist revolution in Europe, the need for a high level of productive forces for the victory of the revolution, proletarianization of the majority of the population, replacement of standing armies with universal arming of the people, etc.

During the revolution unforeseen problems came up, and they required new theoretical and political solutions. Thus Lenin without hesitation temporarily suspended

the agricultural program proposed by him in his April Theses and made peasant demands voiced by the Social Revolutionaries the basis of the Decree on Land. Sometimes harsh reality decisively "corrected" Bolshevik slogans. Take, for example, the thesis concerning a union of the proletariat and the poorest segment of the peasantry in revolution. It turned out that at the decisive moment in the struggle for Soviet power the proletariat received support not only from the poor, its natural allies, but also from the other levels of the peasantry, the middle and well-to-do classes. That is why V. I. Lenin, who had a greater respect for revolutionary theory than anyone, wrote: "As if it were possible to make a great revolution and know in advance how to see it through to the end! As if this knowledge could be found in books! No, it only comes from the experience of the masses..."

We have had to pay dearly for ignoring "feedback" in the development of theory.

Not Underestimating Opponents

[Ovrutskiy] It seems that in the literature the prevalent notion is that the fate of the October Revolution was determined in struggle between two camps, between which petty bourgeois democracy was shuttled back and forth like a "whipping boy," being beaten alternately by the "Reds" and the "Whites." The history of the petty bourgeois parties is presented as an unbroken succession of failures, bankruptcies and deaths. We read, for example, the following: "The policy of the Socialist Revolutionaries led to their extinction." A couple of chapters later: "Their tactics naturally resulted in failure." At the very least this creates the impression that the petty bourgeois parties were completely ineffectual organizations...

[Volobuyev] In a country like Russia petty bourgeois democracy played a tremendous and at times crucial political role. Therefore there is no reason to deprive it of its "status" as a third political camp. The duration, course and nature of the class struggle in Russia would have been quite different if the petty bourgeois had not manifested the gigantic swings from the proletariat to the bourgeois which were characteristic of it. The social composition of the population left a significant mark on our revolution, leaving a large amount of "petty bourgeois dross" in it and later in socialism.

Everyone knows that in this country the words "Menshevik" and "Socialist Revolutionary" have become curse words, synonyms for treason. Of course our revolution, as the first breakthrough from capitalism to socialism, created a great divide between the Bolsheviks and the parties of petty bourgeois democracy. Yet nonetheless we need to renounce exaggerated evaluations, renounce the logic that says that "the simpler the better."

V. I. Lenin noted on more than one occasion that the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, in contrast to the bourgeoisie, defended capitalism against

socialism for "ideological" reasons, on account of their prejudices and fear of new things. They often fell victim to their own fears and self-deception. However, in some periods, despite all their vacillations and inconsistency, they played the role of revolutionary democracy (during the initial days of the February Revolution and during the Kornilov emergency).

It is also false to equate Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. The former were a reformist, petty bourgeois wing of the workers' movement and had a certain amount of influence among workers in Petrograd, Moscow, Tula and other cities. They regarded themselves as a genuine workers' party and orthodox Marxists who had "excommunicated" the Bolsheviks from Marxism. The Socialist Revolutionaries were representatives of neo-Narodnik socialism, the roots of which extended into the thick of the peasant masses. In the spirit of the "best" traditions of the "Short Course" the significance and role of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in the democratic movement of the fall of 1917 are quite dogmatically denied and their efforts, albeit timid and inconsistent, to solve the problems facing the country using reformist methods are not given proper notice. There is nothing more false than to portray them as blind followers of the bourgeoisie. However, there is also no doubt that they were afflicted by the "appeasement syndrome" with regard to the bourgeoisie, as well as by fear and lack of confidence in the people's creative forces and by theoretical dogmatism, specifically in their adherence to the thesis that the concepts of "Russia" and "socialism" were mutually exclusive.

Generally speaking this underestimation of the opponents—I will not go into the ethical aspect of the matter—is a two-edged sword. This approach deflates the value of victory, because there is little glory in crushing the weak and helpless. As you know, Lenin often noted the political inexperience of the Russian bourgeoisie yet at the same time called the maneuver executed after the crisis of April 1917, by which a coalition government in which the so-called "moderate socialists" would participate, a master stroke. Let us not forget that the "appeasement" parties included powerful intellectual forces. Among the Mensheviks were F. Dan, Yu. Martov and G. Plekhanov, and among the Socialist Revolutionaries were V. Chernov and P. Sorokin.

[Ovrutskiy] Within the broad spectrum of petty bourgeois parties (according to some estimates there were over 30 of them) the party of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries stood out in particular. The history of its cooperation with the Bolsheviks ended, as you are aware, with the mutiny of 6 July 1918. This dramatic finale left its impression on all subsequent appraisals. Political portraits of Left Socialist Revolutionary leaders are drawn without exception in black with a slight shading of grey. These cartoon-like, grossly distorted depictions hamper the realistic perception of history.

The fate of P. Proshyan, a member of the Left Socialist Revolutionary Central Committee and the people's

commissar for post and telegraph in the government headed by Lenin, is instructive. He was a very active participant in the mutiny and arrested Bolshevik leaders. After capturing the central telegraph office he sent out reports that the Bolsheviks had been defeated. After the mutiny was put down he went into the underground and died of typhus in a hospital, which he had entered using a false passport. Yet Lenin wrote a very sympathetic (!) obituary in *PRAVDA* (!) about this person. This seems fantastic in our era of unjustifiably harsh and pedantically petty settling of scores.

[Volobuyev] In general the question of the alliance of the Bolsheviks with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries as a revolutionary-democratic party which represented the interests of the working peasantry has not been adequately researched. We will have to return repeatedly to the experience of this alliance, including the governing bloc of the two parties. At the very least this is dictated by the growing role played by populist parties and movements in Third World countries. Both 70 years ago and today the petty bourgeois masses and the middle strata are the natural allies of the proletariat in the struggle for democratic and socialist transformations. Just imagine, in the historiography of the 1960's the question of the boundaries of the governing bloc with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries was resolved correctly: it extended not only to democratic but also to socialist matters. Yet in the early 1970's we took a step backward, and the old refrain that it was impossible to form a governing bloc with them for the purpose of building socialism prevailed once again. In spite of the inglorious evolution of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries after the Brest Peace Accord we should, in my opinion, nonetheless see not only their mistakes and vacillations, but also their well-known services to the October Revolution during its decisive days. History should be both precise and fair.

[Ovrutskiy] In works by historians we often see an approach in which an ideological dispute is transferred, so to speak, to the communal kitchen, where a love of purity is expressed by ripping someone to shreds. This applies in particular to "personae non grata" in our history like Trotsky...

[Volobuyev] Yes, the figure of Trotsky also requires an objective and comprehensive critical analysis. In my opinion Trotsky was sometimes not a Bolshevik in terms of his beliefs, yet after soberly appraising the growth of the revolutionary movement joined it with total conviction.

The Problem of the Cost and the Problem of Guilt

[Ovrutskiy] The civil war that followed the October Revolution was unexpectedly cruel. Suffice it to say that the country's population decreased during this period, according to various estimates, by 13-15 million (not counting the decline in the birth rate). Of these only 800,000 were direct military deaths. People were scoured by typhus, hunger and cold. But it is obvious

that the difference between the total number of dead and the number of those who died of these causes is equal to the number of victims of violence. We have not yet researched with sufficient thoroughness and precision the history of the counterrevolution and the bloody White terror. However, there is also an absence of works on the Red terror that arose in response to the White terror; the silence of historians on this point has generated a great deal of speculation. The best weapon against such speculation is the truth.

[Volobuyev] Any revolution is an authoritarian phenomenon, an extreme means of resolving social contradictions. Yet for a long time the question of the cost of the revolution was regarded as nonexistent.

V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks never made a fetish of revolutionary violence, but when circumstances called for it they were not afraid to make use of it. You are aware that prior to the October Revolution the Bolsheviks announced that they intended to break capitalists' resistance to revolutionary measures in the economic realm without bloodshed. Initially the Soviet system intended to carry out social transformations without special efforts to break down the old order, and was willing to make partial concessions to the bourgeoisie. But this was a failure. The revolution grew into a bitter civil war. The age-old hatred of the oppressors, the savagery among a portion of the people as a result of the war, and anarchistic excesses all had a tremendous effect on the nature of that fratricidal war. V. I. Lenin wrote that victory in the October Revolution was achieved "through unprecedented trials and difficulties, through unheard-of suffering, through a series of tremendous failures and mistakes on our part." And those mistakes should also be the subject of honest research.

One need only recall the infamous Tsaritsyn barge, on board which military specialists suspects of treason were shot on Stalin's orders. According to various estimates between 500 and 900 hostages were shot in response to the murder of Urutskiy. Of course, there is no precise scale for delineating necessary repressions from excesses. The point here is that this issue should not remain veiled in silence.

[Ovrutskiy] Allow me to say the following by way of a working hypothesis. It seems that we are violating the truth if we skirt around the fact that the workers' and peasants' struggle also stirred up the "element of rebellion." The declassed status of the masses was its source. This was not the so-called vacillations and anarchistic impulses of the petty bourgeois mass, this was aggression by those on the "bottom" which sought within itself a way of escape, a way of letting off steam—and exploded. "War awakened animal instincts," commented Gorki in his "Nesvoyevremennyye mysli" [Untimely Thoughts].

[Volobuyev] Your hypothesis, like any other, needs to be tested, but at first glance it seems to me to be a productive one. Indeed, there was a declassed "bottom" and its

cruel aggression did take place. Add to this a tremendous mass of people who had lost everything and who had nothing to go home to, for whom war had become a trade, and you will have an explanation for many things pertaining to the "wandering army" and similar movements. We are also aware of many instances where in a number of places peasant revolts were provoked by the behavior of food collection units. Of course these revolts were called "kulak risings" and were put down harshly, but the real culprits behind them were by no means always exposed. We need to realize this and not whitewash the facts.

Stalin and Thermidor

[Ovrutskiy] Two months from different calendar systems and two poles in the development of a revolution. Do you not feel that herein lies a serious problem?

[Volobuyev] October and Thermidor. As you are aware, this issue came under discussion within the party in connection with the transition to the New Economic Policy. Lenin also thought about it. The issue was raised in the course of intraparty discussions, first by the Trotskyites and later by the new opposition. But it was F.E. Dzerzhinsky who came closest to grasping the problem of Thermidor. Just before he died he wrote that if party unity were not achieved "the country... would find a dictator who would bury the revolution, no matter how beautifully he might be garbed." Later this matter disappeared from our literature, although it continued to be discussed abroad, in SOTSIALISTICHESKIY VESTNIK, for example. No one in this country touched the subject until the 1960's. Only then was there an exchange of opinions on this subject between Yu. A. Krasev and Ye. G. Plimak. In an article published at that time in NOVYY MIR Yevgeniy Grigoryevich expressed an idea which I shared at that time and still share, i.e. that under conditions of socialist revolution the question of Thermidor is a timely one. Unfortunately, at that time this thesis was not further developed, nor did it receive any reinforcement. The experience that has accumulated during the restructuring years and which has expanded our knowledge of the nature and mechanism of the personality cult allows us, in my opinion, to return to this question on a new level.

In essence my opinion is that Stalin was a classical Thermidorian. He practiced a very cruel medieval-style Eastern despotism in a pseudosocialist form. The distorted political superstructure also warped the foundations, hence forced labor and levelling and other woes whose consequences are still being felt by our economy today.

True, I do feel that it cannot be said that the October Revolution led us straight to Stalinism. That is untrue. The October Revolution bears no historical responsibility for Stalinism whatsoever. The revolution put Russia on a path of socialist development, gave a mighty impetus to that development and continues to serve as the ideological and political motive force in that direction.

How socialism would turn out and what its specific contours would be depended upon the heirs of October. I feel that there no more definite answer than that exists today. We need to think, we need to discuss, otherwise we will not comprehend a large part of our history.

[Ovrutskiy] When you say that we "need to think and discuss" what comes to mind is the discussion surrounding M. Shatrov's work "Dalshe... dalshe... dalshe!" [Onward... Onward... Onward!]. It seemed to me that by no means all historians have demonstrated a willingness to follow your example...

[Volobuyev] I understand what you mean, and I would like to take this opportunity to express my opinion on the "sensational" article by three history professors which appeared in PRAVDA on 15 February 1988. I would like to note the methodological weakness of the position taken by the three authors, who interpret conformances to law in social development in the spirit of preordination and "programming" of the existing variant of historical development. The authors make some amazingly unfounded assertions in their treatment of the events of 24 October 1917. Just think, historians have been arguing for decades about whether the uprising of 24 October began in the morning, at midday or in the evening, yet here the three authors state that it began in the morning, and we must simply take their word for it! In their opinion the uprising unfolded precisely according to Lenin's plan as approved at meetings of the party's Central Committee on 10 and 16 October 1917. In actuality all this was much more complex, as has been accurately depicted in the play yet, unfortunately, not in this article written by professional historians. Undoubtedly articles like these undermine historians' authority in the eyes of the general public.

Toward a Party of Revolutionary Ideas

[Ovrutskiy] Our history has known both ups and downs. A lack of history gave rise to the feeling that the time connection had been broken. It seems that restructuring is restoring that connection.

[Volobuyev] Restructuring is a continuation of the movement begun by October. It was the October Revolution which provided the real preconditions for human beings to live like human beings.

The great wealth of traditions, experience and instructive lessons inherited by us from the October Revolution are becoming especially valuable today. Whereas the great informational breakthrough that occurred in October 1917 put our country on the road to socialism, restructuring must, in order to fulfill the hopes of the

people, become an intraformational revolution which will put us on the road to renewed socialist development. At the crucial turning point in history where our country and the whole world now stand we need bold, creative development of our revolutionary theory, a renunciation of accepted dogmas and renewal of the ideological arsenal of our theory more than ever before. The 19th All-Union Party Conference proved that our party is being reborn as a party of creative revolutionary ideas and bold revolutionary action.

* * *

Three old and little-known photographs... They take us back to a time when everything had just begun, when the history of the USSR, the history of the revolution, the history of a new society was being written before our eyes and had not yet been forced into the strict outline of a textbook... The photographs show the leaders of the revolution. They are smiling. Lenin is leaning toward Nadezhda Konstantinova and is probably joking with her. Here are Bukharin, Rykov, Mikoyan, Stalin, Kaganovich and other party leaders—still standing all together on the podium of the Lenin Mausoleum—in the spring, May. They are still quite young. Looking at this photograph, it is impossible, unthinkable to predict that they would have such diverse fates, that within a few years their paths would diverge in such a tragic manner. And in the middle photograph we see a smiling yet already long-suffering Bukharin taken with outstanding young members of a mountain-climbing expedition to Mt. Elbrus. It was 1934.

Every person in these photographs had had his own victories and successes, his own moments of pain and tragedy... Each one has his own memory, his own services and measure of responsibility to the country and to us...

Why do these old photographs attract us so? Of course, they are documents of the time, pieces of history, and that is always of interest, but there is something else... A kind of special freedom and directness. Life is in them.

Over a period of many years we grew accustomed to monumental, pompous, grandiose posters, paintings and photographs of our officials and leaders. Every gesture, every pose was tested and planned as the "leaders" looked down on their loyal people like stone images...

All this is past now, but it remains in our memory and in our hearts.

Here in these three old and half-forgotten photographs are living people. They look at us and smile at us...

**Moscow Militia Chief on Unsanctioned Rallies,
Youth Gangs**

18120033 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 46, 20-27 Nov 88 p 14

[Article by Nataliya Gevorkyan entitled "What's Going On In The Capital?"]

[Text] Since January 1 of this year, there have been 644 unsanctioned attempts to hold rallies or demonstrations—46 attempts in October alone. These figures were cited at the Chief Administration of the Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee during a briefing conducted by Chief Administration head Lt. Gen Pyotr Bogdanov.

But this doesn't mean that the street democracy is being curtailed. A 35-person meeting in Luzhniki discussed various legal issues. Recently, about 130 Armenians gathered at the Vagankovskoye cemetery for a rally. The militia didn't interfere. Unfortunately, said Bogdanov, it is usually the militia who face down demonstrators, never ideological workers. Especially since the rallies are attended by many outsiders, onlookers. Nine people were arrested on October 20 outside the Lira cafe where the Democratic Union was attempting to hold an unsanctioned rally. The Union's representatives notified the Frunzensky District Soviet Executive Committee of

their intention but did not petition for permission. Three people were sentenced by a people's court to 15 days in jail. Others received lighter punishments. Some 350 people had gathered in the square opposite the Lira thus giving ideological education officers the chance to do a good job.

Incidentally, the militia does not always favour banning demonstrations. People wanted to hold a rally in Zhdanovsky District to discuss changing the district's name. The District Soviet Executive Committee first banned the rally, then rescinded its decision following a protest from Moscow's procurator. Militiamen discussed this issue at their 38, Petrovka Street headquarters and Bogdanov informed the Zhdanovsky District Soviet Executive Committee of his personal opinion in the matter.

Complicated street situations have not always been caused by political actions. Street actions by youth groups have become more frequent in Moscow. But the situation in the capital is not comparable to that in Kazan, for example. Nevertheless, the militia is preparing for possible clashes between youth gangs, often armed with sticks, iron bars, balls and chains.

Bogdanov also mentioned that organized gang crime is on the rise as compared with last year.

Estonian Forum Addresses Increasing Ethnic Tensions in Republic
18000183a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 4

[Article: "Appeal by the Council of the Forum of the Peoples of Estonia to the Citizens of the Republic"]

[Text] All of us representatives of the various nations who live in Estonia and who have linked their lives with it are united by the striving to help the democratic reforms in our society that were begun by perestroyka.

But we note with alarm that at the present time one can still observe in the interethnic relations a tension that has a tendency toward intensification. Incidents of interethnic conflicts in everyday life are becoming increasingly frequent, and there have been frequent instances of a disrespectful, and sometimes even insulting, attitude toward representatives of a different national in the press and in public statements. All of this is not only weakening our efforts, but also threatening the capability of achieving our basic goals—democratization, sovereignty, and regional cost accountability.

The tension that has been intensifying can turn into an open confrontation, the danger of which is all the greater because this is precisely the goal of the actions carried out by the opponents of perestroyka, which actions are beginning to take on organizational forms.

It is our task to overcome the existing tension among the nations of Estonia and to achieve the consolidation of all the forces for the sake of achieving our high goals.

We consider it to be necessary as the first and urgent step to censure any manifestations of interethnic enmity, or any insults of national feeling in all spheres—in everyday life, in public statements, in the press, and in official and business relations.

We call upon writers, journalists, and artists—everyone who appears on the pages of the press, or on radio and television—to be as cautious as possible in choosing their words and evaluations, since their words, intensified by the mass information media, acquire the ability to exert special influence on the moods of the masses.

We appeal to all those who, by the nature of their jobs, deal with broad masses of people of various nationality, including medical and trade workers and officials in institutions, to show respect to persons of any nationality, since the disrespectful attitude of one nation to another harms all the nations of Estonia.

The fate of perestroyka in our republic depends not only on the unity of the Estonian nation, but also upon the unity of all the nations of Estonia. The best guarantee against confrontation would be the broad participation of all the nations of Estonia, and primarily the Russian nation, in the NF [National Front] movement. That

would give the movement greater breadth and would enable it to taken into more complete consideration the interests of the republic's entire population.

Unfortunately, most of the Russian population of Estonia at the present time are remaining aloof from the NF movement, since among many of them there is a widespread opinion that the NF movement not only fails to correspond to their interests, but is also, in some way, inimical to them. Despite the fact that the basic NF documents—the program, charter, and congress resolutions—do not provide any justifications for judgments of this kind, the prejudice continues to be strong.

Of course, one also sees in this regard the effect of several factors—the survivals of the past in people's awareness; the schismatic actions of the ID, which plays upon those survivals; and the completely insufficient amount of work done by the mass information media in the Russian language during the period when the National Front movement was coming into being. However, it must be noted that the arising of prejudice was also promoted by certain public statements made by National Front participants at mass meetings and at the congress, which contradict the basic ideas of the National Front and reflect the subjective, extremist points of views of the persons making such statements. Inasmuch as the recognized leaders of the National Front did not always provide the proper evaluation of such statements and failed to express their attitude toward them, those statements had a far-reaching effect.

We hope that the National Front leadership (the council of authorized representatives, and the board) will proceed immediately to come forward openly and concretely with a well-principled evaluation of those statements. Otherwise it will be difficult to convince the population of nonindigenous nationality that the heat of passions is not being maintained deliberately.

We censure any attempts to shift to the Russian nation the blame for those misfortunes that overtook Estonia during the years of the Stalin and Brezhnev illegalities. All the nations—the Estonian nation, the Russian nation, and all other nations—were to an equal degree the victims of those regimes, and therefore they must unite their efforts for the sake of overcoming the heavy heritage of the past.

But we also censure any attempts to slander the Estonian nation, or attempts to present the Estonian nation's struggle to preserve its language and culture as the attempt to infringe in some way on the interests of other nations.

At the present time the process of the renovation and democratization of society is under way at the highest rates in our republic, in Estonia. We have already achieved much and are currently an example for others

to follow. Therefore it would be unforgiveable to jeopardize this great undertaking by underevaluating the danger of internecine conflicts.

[Signed] Ishtvan Ban, Oleg Bazanov, Vladimir Brekhoz, Vladimir Dudarenko, Agarats Kalachan, Samuil Lazikin, Eni Leysson, Mati Limbak, Rudolf Pakki, Yuris Putrinsh, Dalya Tarmak, Seufullen Timur, Valeriy Chizik, Khagi Sheyn, Stefan Efros.

**Estonian Council of Popular Front
Plenipotentiaries Holds First Meeting**
*18000190a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 1 Nov 88 p 1*

[Article by ETA correspondent R. Amos: "With Alarm and Hope"]

[Text] Alarm concerning the future of Estonia and its inhabitants was apparent at the 29 October first meeting of the council of plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front of Estonia, which discussed the draft of the Law Governing Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the draft of the Law Governing Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

E. Savisaar emphasized in his report that the rule-of-law state to which we are striving is impossible without changes and additions brought up for nationwide discussion. These drafts completely nullify the sovereignty of the union republics, give the central departments even greater powers, and considerably limit democracy.

Most of the speakers also gave a negative evaluation to the legislative drafts. Under conditions of democracy it is unacceptable for a parliament to be formed not by means of a direct election, but by a multistage election, or that the procedure for electing a republic's legislative agencies be included within the union competency.

It is inadmissible in a rule-of-law state for the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to possess powers that would enable it to introduce, in various regions of the country, including sovereign union republics, a special status, martial law, or other forms of government. If the drafts are approved as laws, then this will also eliminate the state system in the republics that are part of the USSR, and their right will become much more limited than the rights were in the guberniyas of tsarist Russia.

M. Lauristin discussed the domestic political situation in the republic.

The publishing of the draft of the Law Governing Language and the obstacles that were put in the way of the working group on language were discussed by M. Khint.

The speakers also touched upon the question of illegal mass repressions and demanded the rehabilitation of all persons who had been illegally repressed, the restoration of their rights, and compensation for the damage that had been caused.

Sharp criticism was leveled at the blocking at the union level of the information leaving our republic, and at the tendentiousness of the information published in the central press.

At the same time it was noted that after the congress the NF [National Front] began to lose contact with the workers, especially Russian-speaking ones. The lack of a time-responsive reaction to the criticism leveled at the NF was censured.

Some of the speakers expressed their bewilderment at the inactivity of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia (CPE) and recommended that the council of plenipotentiaries propose to the CPE Central Committee that it formulate its position in the situation that has been created. It was deemed necessary to intensify the explanatory work among the Russian-speaking population. The irresponsible statements made by certain figures in the National Front, which were intended to create cheap popularity, were censured.

Mention was also made of interethnic relations and the ways to improve them.

The meeting participants discussed the trends in the work of the program committee and questions of forming various commissions.

A. Ryuytel, chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at the first meeting of the Popular Front. He surveyed the work of the 11th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, the position of the deputies from Estonian SSR, and the key problems of the republic's domestic-political life.

The first meeting of the council of plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front of Estonia decided to send M. S. Gorbachev, Chairman of the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet, a telegram stating:

"The council of plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front of Estonia feels that the drafts of the USSR laws governing changes and additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and governing the elections of USSR people's deputies, which drafts were brought up for nationwide discussion, do not conform to the yearnings of the citizens of our republic. These drafts are a step backward in the development of electoral democracy. The statutes contained in the drafts do not conform to the course that has been firmly established in the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, a course that is

aimed at expanding the rights of the union republics, but, on the contrary, lead to a loss by the union republics of their constitutional sovereignty as part of the union of republics.

"As has been indicated by the course of nationwide discussion, the people of Estonian SSR does not wish to reconcile itself to the actual loss of its state system. The content of these additions and changes has evoked a decisive protest by the public. Their adoption will undoubtedly lead to unpredictable consequences for the cause of strengthening the unity of the USSR and the democratic development of *perestroika* in our country.

"Therefore the council of plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front of Estonia proposes that these drafts be withdrawn from nationwide discussion and that they not be included on the agenda for the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We propose creating, out of representatives of the union republics, a state constitutional commission to prepare new drafts of constitutional acts that conform to the principles of *perestroika*."

The meeting participants also adopted messages to be sent to the public and to agencies of state authority in Estonian SSR, to the public of Armenia, and to the movements of the popular fronts of Latvia and Lithuania, and a number of resolutions.

**Estonian Popular Front Council
Addresses Interethnic Tensions**
*18000190b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 4*

[Article under rubric "Decree of the NFE [Popular Front of Estonia] on the Question of the Appeal Made to the Public by the Forum of the Nations of Estonia": "Reply to the Appeal Made by the Council of the Forum of the Nations of Estonia"]

[Text] The appeal made by the council of the Forum of the Nations of Estonia to the republic's citizens expresses justified alarm as a result of the increase of the tension in interethnic relations.

The council of plenipotentiaries deems it necessary to emphasize that the program, charter, and resolution of the congress of the Popular Front of Estonia concerning interethnic relations strictly observe the principles of respect for the dignity and the guaranteeing of human rights for everyone living in Estonia.

The council of plenipotentiaries appeals to the Russian-speaking population of Estonian SSR in the confidence that that population understands the feeling of uncertainty that has arisen as a result of the rumors being spread and the breakdowns in information.

Therefore the board and the council of plenipotentiaries of the NFE call upon all the inhabitants of Estonia to remain calm, and to show mutual understanding and cooperation. This, and only this, can guide the NFE when it is deciding the problems that are very important for Estonia.

At the same time we must all be completely aware of the fact that interethnic relations are being aggravated in the republic and are aimed at concealing the real political and economic contradictions and the conflict between the interests of the union republics and the great-power aspirations of the central authority.

Council of plenipotentiaries of the Popular Front of Estonia, Tallinn, 29 October 1988.

Regional Popular Front Conference Draws Crowd
*18080002a Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
28 Sep 88 p 1*

[Article by Vilis Seleckis, Representative of the Tukums rayon branch of the LTF [Latvian Popular Front], under the rubric: "Popular Front": "Tukums Rayon Residents Said Their Word"]

[Text] The Popular Front, representing the power uniting our hopes and faith in the future, is being organized all over Latvia. Just recently, on 16 September, more than 1,000 people gathered at the LTF Tukums rayon branch organizational meeting. There were people from Engure, Lapmezhciems, Kandava, Pure, Jaunpils, Slampe, and other townships. Peasants, workers, teachers, students, and retirees got together. For more than 6 hours people of the Tukums rayon stayed together and openly, honestly, and sometimes hotly discussed what they have reached, what they have lost, and what they can hope for. Many of them were standing all this time, because there were not enough seats in the rayon culture palace for all participants.

All participants of the conference were united in their thirst for truth. We all are yearning for it, because until very recent time, the truth was distorted, persecuted, covered with demagogical coating, and kept from the people.

Different conferences and meetings in the same hall come to mind. Important decisions concerning the whole rayon were being made, but boredom, sleepiness, and indifference were stunning. One should not be surprised by that. Only a free exchange of thoughts arouses activity. Artificial, hypocritical repetition of worn-out phrases without real rights to make decisions cannot interest people.

Many reproaches at the conference concerning the shortage of goods in stores and lagging social services were addressed to the rayon authorities. These reproaches have shown that many leaders were far removed from the main problems of the rayon and made decisions as government bureaucrats rather than as leaders elected by

people. They feel accountable to the higher authorities rather than to their own people, relying upon the fact that the formal farce elections allow them to retain their positions and power.

Residents of the Tukums rayon with indignation mentioned the names of those leaders, which were sent as "gifts" to the rayon after they would become useless to the central authorities. Of course, because they would come to the rayon for a short time, they did not pay attention to such "small" things as local schools, palaces of culture, or the insignificant Slocone river. They were executing the "leading role", that is, guaranteeing that Riga receives planned meat, milk, and furniture, without any concern for the people of the rayon, who themselves remained without the fruits of their labor.

The meat and milk distribution data released during the conference confirmed the great injustice and aroused the participants' indignation. People toiling the land cannot even buy bread without difficulties. What is the reason for a man to work hard, if he knows that results of his labor will pour into mystical governmental supplies, while he will not be able himself to buy these products?

It is easy today to criticize the rayon's leaders. However, it is not true that only they alone are to be blamed. All of us also are guilty. At least, because we either did not know how or were afraid to protest against the absurdity.

The creation of the Popular Front is the first timid protest, which raises the hope that in the future the Tukums rayon people will not allow the selfish go-getters to act in their name. Sometimes people say: enough meetings, we must work. Yes, we must work. And meetings are also necessary. Always! Because a meeting is a protest guaranteeing that there will be less absurdity. And if some leader does not like meetings, let him act in such a way that nobody has reasons to protest.

Stagnated power is based on society's indifference, fears, and abuse of free thought. The conference demonstrated that during perestroika the conservative forces lost these weapons. People are not afraid anymore to speak the truth and ask for justice. Only brutal, hardhearted power would be capable of driving people back into old boundaries. The residents of the Tukums rayon do not want to allow it, and, therefore, they united in order to protect the most important ideals of perestroika, namely, democracy, glasnost, pluralism of views, and economic reform.

The Popular Front is waking up forces which were asleep for a long time, that is, enthusiasm, unselfishness, national pride, hope, and faith. It is the strength of the awakened people's spirit, of which all autocracies were always afraid. As the chief agriculturist of the kolkhoz Dzimtene Agris Jaunklavish said, this awakening may be the last hope of the Latvian people. This opportunity should not be missed. The conference elected the LTF Tukums rayon branch leadership, representative, his

deputies, and delegates to the republican conference. At the present time, the newly formed organization has united 882 members, of whom 230 are workers and kolkhoz workers, 78 Party members, 73 Komsomol members, 8 housewives, 48 school students, 2 believers, and 82 retired people. During the conference 1518 rubles were donated.

The Tukums rayon residents had said their word. Now it is time for deeds.

Constitutional Guarantees for Latvian Language Discussed

18080002b *Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE* in Latvian
28 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by O. Bush, candidate of philological sciences: "On Constitutional Guarantees for the Latvian Language"]

[Text] Today, 28 September 1988, the Legislative commission of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet will discuss several very urgent draft laws and, maybe, will recommend to adopt them at the Supreme Soviet session on 6 Oct 88. Among these drafts is a draft law on amending the LaSSR Constitution with an article that would determine the status of the Latvian language protection. This draft is submitted for several revisions, all of which are based on the original text developed by the Working group.

Let us examine the differences between the two principal revisions (we will call them conditionally the "first" and the "second.") There is the text of the first revision: "The State language of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic is the Latvian language. The State looks after the overall development and teaching of the Latvian language, and guarantees its use in the State bodies, enterprises and organizations, and educational, scientific, technical, cultural, health protection, communal services, and other spheres. The State also assures to the citizens of the LaSSR of the Russian language and other languages use. The order of using the LaSSR State language and other language is determined by the Law."

The second revision differs by that it also provides certain guarantees for the Latvian language use in business correspondence, but the paragraph concerning the assurance of the rights of the Russian language is formulated as follows: "The citizens in their contacts with the State bodies, enterprises, institutions and organizations, may select either the Latvian, or the Russian languages as the language for communication and documentation." In addition, this revision definitely states that the Russian language is to be used for relations on the federal level, that is, in relations with the USSR central bodies.

For comparison, this is one of similar revisions of the Estonian SSR draft law, which is supported by linguists (it has not been officially approved): "The State language of the Estonian SSR is the Estonian language. The Estonian language in the Estonian SSR is the language of

business correspondence of the State power and the State government bodies, institutions, enterprises, and organizations. The order of using the Estonian SSR State language and other languages is determined by Law." (Taking into consideration the real situation, a transition time of several years is stipulated in Estonia; the authors of this text based their approach on the notion that the Estonian SSR Constitution must guarantee the language rights of the main population, and the order of using other languages will be determined by law.)

What does the "State language" status provide without concrete guarantees? Undoubtedly, it furthers the language prestige and increases our self-consciousness. However, it does not promise anything concrete. The notion of the State language in various dictionaries is explained differently without being legally approved by law. The constitutions of the Trans-Caucasian Republics, which give the main language the status of the State language, the respective articles end with statements that no language has any privileges over others, and no restrictions are imposed.

This wording, which is not applicable to conditions in Latvia, it seems, is based on Lenin's words: "No privileges, no limitations!" (speaking of languages). It may very well happen that using these words, demagogues will try to justify their objections to granting the status of the State language to the Latvian language. Therefore, we must remember the real sense of Lenin's words, namely, no privileges to the great language and no limitations on the small languages (and not the other way). It is clearly supported by Lenin's words: "Oppressors, or so-called 'great' nations.... internationalism must be expressed not only by observing the formal equality of nations, but also by such inequality, when the oppressing nation, the great nation would compensate for the inequality, which is actually formed in life" (V.I. Lenin, Works, Vol 36, 1958, p 553).

The word "privileges" quite often arouses negative attitudes. However, real equality is formed, when each language has its own privileges (of course, we can call them differently), which in the real situation are mutually equalized. A very good graphic example of this thought can be seen in the second revision of the law draft, namely, it guarantees a very concrete privilege to the Russian language (relations with the central bodies), which cannot ever be counterbalanced for the sake of language equality with a completely identical privilege for the Latvian language.

The status of a State language for the Latvian language (and for main population languages of other republics) is necessary, but more concrete guarantees are also necessary. The more concrete words are found in the second paragraph of the draft law: "guarantee its (Latvian language) use..." However, here we must ask again what does it really mean?

One possible explanation is extreme, but not absurd, namely, guarantee that in all above mentioned places and spheres one will be allowed to converse in Latvian. It looks as though the language of conversation is beyond the competence of the Constitution, but how in this case is one to understand the ending of the 3rd paragraph of the first revision, namely, "and other languages used"?

The only limitation connected with court procedures is not mentioned here, because in accordance with the law, when necessary, one may request an interpreter from any language. In all other spheres the "other languages used" cannot be assured and, therefore, we must come to a conclusion that exactly the language of conversation is being discussed.

This is one of the reasons, why the clarification concerning the business correspondence (in the second revision) seems to be more than simply useful. This is being asked in very concrete terms in many of the letters received by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium editing boards and the Academy of Sciences (approximately 3,000 letters with 85,000 signatures, which support the request for granting the status of the State language to the Latvian language).

The third paragraph of the first revision is causing very serious thoughts: "The State also assures the citizens of the LaSSR of the Russian language and other languages use". Lawyers see here in its subtext a contraposition between the "citizens" and the "officials," and such interpretation of this sentence's sense would be acceptable.

But let us imagine a classic situation with a bureaucrat, doctor, or shop assistant, who does not speak Latvian. If he finds such a wording in the Constitution, he will return to the library the Latvian language textbook and will say: "I am a citizen, and the LaSSR Constitution guarantees me the use of the Russian language!" It could be an intentional misunderstanding, but the ambiguity of the word "citizen" creates the basis for it, whereas the wording of the Constitution must not provide such an opportunity.

The insertion of such a confusing sentence in the LaSSR Constitution may create very unpleasant results in the future. Therefore, the same thought is formulated in the second revision unambiguously by including in the text the contraposition of a citizen and an institution at the same time guaranteeing the same rights to the Latvian language.

The last sentence of the draft law stipulates the order of language use by means of a (special) law. However, this law must be written and at the present time it is impossible to foresee how it will be actually shaped. Therefore, we should not reject the insertion of such a concrete guarantee into the Constitution, which would already now be capable, at least to an extent, of protecting our language (the road to the Latvian language extinction must be closed today, because tomorrow it

will be too late). The draft law has at least one such concrete guarantee, and it is included into the second revision. Therefore, the second revision is also more successful than the first one. The assessment of the draft law revisions was originally formed among the specialists. The group of linguists at the Academy of Sciences almost unanimously (25 for, 1 abstained) decided to support the second revision. Similar assessments are given by the Cultural council of creative unions, Latvian Culture foundation, and the initiative group of the Latvian Scientists' union.

LaSSR Council of Ministers on Interethnic Relations, Cultural Development
18000145 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by LATINFORM correspondent V. Smirnov: "On the Road of Mutual Understanding and Friendship"]

[Text] Democratization of relations in the society assumes also the democratization of interethnic relations. A meeting with participation of representatives of cultural societies formed in the republic took place at the LaSSR Council of Ministers. The deputy chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers L. Bartkevich opened the meeting.

The deputy chief of the department of propaganda and agitation, chief of the ethnic relations section of the LaSSR CP Central Committee Yu.I. Goldmanis stressed that economic and social progress is impossible without spiritual progress and without protecting and improving traditions, language, arts, and the history of the peoples of our country. The resolution of the 19th All-Union Party conference stated: "We should take care that the ethnicities either living outside the boundaries of their administrative and territorial formations, or not having them receive more opportunities for realizing their ethnic-cultural requirements, especially in the sphere of education, contacts, and folk arts, as well as for creating centers of national culture, using mass information media, and satisfying religious needs. This thesis is urgent for our multiethnic republic. Latvia has one of the first places in the country with regard to ethnic diversity. In accordance with the data of the last census of 1979, in addition to the Latvians in the republic lived 821,000 Russians, 110,000 Belorussians, 67,000 Ukrainians, 63,000 Poles, 38,000 Lithuanians, 28,000 Jews, and several thousands each of Gypsies, Tatars, Estonians, Germans, and other ethnicities. Many of them express great interest toward organizing centers of national culture and are taking practical steps in this direction.

This process is not simple and requires great public efforts and the help of other people. Creative unions, the Latvian Cultural foundation, and other public organizations demonstrate their goodwill and interest toward these initiatives. The time has come also for essential

support from State institutions. The participants of the meeting focused their attention on different problems of the formation and development of the nongovernmental cultural organizations.

The chairman of the Balto-Slavic society for cultural development and cooperation, V. Steshenko:

The idea of creating our society is supported. However, 3 months have passed since we started, but we are not registered, we do not have a legal person status, seal, and a bank account. It is also necessary to resolve the problem with the premises. What is a cultural society? It is, first of all, an opportunity to communicate. We do not need to wait until a palace is built for us. We must seek to resolve the situation now and to look for a place for the society. However, because we are not registered, it prevents us from the right to obtain premises anywhere. In the beginning, the matter of material support is also important. Today, many cooperatives and some enterprises would agree to support us. But the State could also help us with some expenses.

A member of the initiative group of the Latvian society of Jewish culture, E. Rapinya:

What are the most important issues for us? First, the problem of registration. We are very thankful to the Latvian Cultural foundation, which admitted us into their ranks. But we exist without a seal and a bank account. I think that the society must be registered as soon as possible. The solution of this problem for some reasons is hanging in the air. We discussed it several times with the legal department of the republic Supreme Soviet, but as of now, the problem has not been resolved. At the same time, for example, in Lithuania, a similar society is officially registered and has its own seal and a bank account. In Estonia everything is successfully resolved also and the society has all the necessary things. Why this problem is not being resolved here?

As to the premises, we made an agreement with the management of the LaSSR State Committee for culture and arts during the second half of the day. This place is good for concerts and seminars. However, we need a school. People want to study the Yiddish language. As is well known, during the years of bourgeois rule Riga had 7 Jewish elementary schools and 1 high school. One of the buildings where they could be located could be transferred to us for organizing a school there.

We also think that we need a publication, maybe, a joint one together with, for example, the Balto-Slavic society, where we could describe our programs and activities. And one more problem, namely, cadres. After the war the Jewish schools did not exist anymore and today we do have almost no teachers of Yiddish. We have found some people among the older generation, but it is not a solution. We must prepare new cadres and carry out scientific-research work.

Chairman of the board of the Ukrainian cultural society Dnipro, N. Skudra:

It is necessary to give immediately the status of a legal person to all newly created cultural societies. It is necessary to determine clearly how many people want to study in national classes or schools. Our Constitution stipulates education of all citizens in their native language, but we are to determine the order of this right's realization. We propose to open in Latvia an Institute of Culture in order to prepare qualified cadres.

We are asking to accelerate the registration process. Due to bureaucratic delays it is greatly protracted. As to the premises, we are asking to transfer to the Dnipro society the building at the 26 E. Smilgya Street for organizing in it the Center of Ukrainian Culture in the LaSSR. This building has not been used for a year-and-a-half and is falling into disrepair, namely, steps and railings are destroyed and the parquet is being stolen. Its transfer to us would help the successful celebration of the 175th anniversary of the great Ukrainian poet Taras Grigoryevich Shevchenko's birthday.

The member of the board of the Friends of Polish culture club, R. Shklenik:

Naturally, we also are interested in the legal registration of the society, establishing a bank account, obtaining a seal, etc. The issue of premises is also very urgent. At the present time, owing to the courtesy of the management of the Builder's culture palace Oktobris, we from time to time can use its hall for meetings and conferences. However, our society must become a full-scale center open not only for the Poles, but also for representatives of other ethnic groups wanting to get acquainted with Polish culture. It would be a good impetus for the rapprochement of peoples.

The problem of elementary school education in Polish is also an urgent issue. During the first post-war years in Latvia there were many such schools. Today not a single one is operating. This leads to a loss of national identity among the Polish population. Many start to consider the Latvian, Russian, Belorussian, and other languages as their native ones. A very important problem for us is information. The possibility of placing a notice in the existing periodicals often does not exist. It is necessary to resolve the issue of information support.

Representatives of the Daugavpils Polish cultural-educational society, Lithuanian cultural society, and many other representatives of cultural societies also were speaking about similar problems.

The deputy chairman of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium T.I. Savitskaya, chief of the department of propaganda and agitation at the Latvian CP Central Committee V.Ya. Brokan, and responsible Party, Soviet, and labor union workers, and leaders of a series of ministries and departments of the republic spoke during the meeting. It was noted that due to the formation of

cultural societies, state and government institutions faced problems which previously were unknown. For example, legislative acts stipulating registration of public political organizations do not exist. The problem may be solved by adopting a legally justified tentative regulation dealing with the order of recognition of such formations. During the meeting representatives of the legal services of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers were instructed to discuss within a 10-day period the possibility of registering and providing the status of legal person to the cultural societies. It was explained to their representatives that the procedure of opening a bank account now is simplified, that is, it is sufficient to provide the State Bank office with a request and the bylaws of the society.

The issue of premises will be decided by the Riga gorispolkom after the legal registration of the societies. As to the native language studies, these may be organized at the present time as school groups and departments. Opening a first grade with the Polish language education is being planned. For this purpose several teachers will attend courses in Poland. The idea of opening Sunday schools to study the native language is quite real. For this purpose the evening hours of schools working only one shift may be used. Further opportunities for schoolchildren to study in their native language will be determined after the Ministry of Education generalizes proposals received from parents. The culture institutions of labor unions have large reserves for carrying out different measures and work in groups. The information support of the cultural societies will also be improved through the press, TV, and radio. As to the issue of organizing their own publications, it remains uncertain due to the shortage of paper.

Summarizing the results of the conference, L.L. Bartkevich noted that the problems raised have an important political and moral significance. They cannot be solved in one day because they require time and joint efforts to be resolved. All the aspects of existing problems in the sphere of ethnic relations, ways of consolidating the residents of different ethnicities living in Latvia, and strengthening friendship among them will be discussed at a forum of the republic's people, which is planned to take place this year in Riga.

Academician Discusses Latvian National Symbolism

18080003 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
28,30 Sep 88 p 3,4

[Excerpts from an article by professor, Academician Janis Stradins: "On the Subject of People's Symbolism: Completing the Great People's Poll"]

28 Sep 88, p 3

[Excerpts]

Some half-a-year ago I would consider it unthinkable, if somebody had told me that I, a chemist, would spend

this summer explaining the red-white-red flag and other national symbols. In June I heard the first news from Estonia concerning their old national flag. I also learned that the Environmental protection club took the task of rehabilitating the Latvian national symbolism. Soon, irritated, opposing, high-pitched voices followed at very high forums, where, unfortunately, a one-sided approach dominated and important facts concerning the history of our people were ignored. I must admit that this position offended me and, in response to requests of many people, I attempted to explain the facts I knew about the origin and history of the red-white-red flag, and about the attitudes of Auseklis, Rainis, and other great figures of our culture toward this flag. There were also other ardent writers. All this happened at the most appropriate time, because in early July the student celebrations Gaudeamus-10 in Vilnius, the magnificent folklore festival Baltica-88, and the huge meeting in Mezhapark demonstrated the attitude of the majority of the people toward this symbol, and the spontaneous flag movement could not be stopped anymore. On 11 July 1988, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet formed a working group for amending the republic's Constitution and other laws concerning the issues of society's democratization. As members of the group, I and the ethnographer S. Cimmermanis were assigned to examine the problem of symbolism.

A notion was still alive that mainly nationalistic extremists and youth, which does not know history are advocating the red-white-red flag. Therefore, we wanted to determine, at least to some degree, public opinion. Immediately after the first meeting of the Working group, I asked people through PADOMJU JAUNATNE (3 Aug 88) to state, whether they are for, or against one of the four choices concerning the recognition of the Red-white-red symbolism, as well as to express their thoughts with regard to other traditional Latvian symbols and reinstating symbols of towns and regions.

The response was completely unexpected. All of August, letters and lists with signatures from persons, families, and working collectives, were coming in. Their number continued to grow. The absolute majority of letters came through PADOMJU JAUNATNE, but many also arrived through the Latvian radio and TV. Some people (especially those, who were against the red-white-red symbolism) sent their letters directly to the Latvian CP Central Committee, or to the Supreme Soviet.

We went through all letters, which were received by the Working group. Prior to discussing the expressed opinions, it is my duty to express my gratitude to the collective of PADOMJU JAUNATNE (especially, to Aris Jansons) and those workers of the Institute of organic synthesis at the Academy of Sciences and Riga medical institute, who together with the members of my family for 3 weeks spent all their free time counting and assessing the huge outpour of letters. Those, who have not seen these letters, cannot even imagine the volume of this work. And even greater gratitude, of course, belongs to the numerous writers of letters, who voiced their opinion either by a signature, or by several lines, or by long letters, where they spoke about their lives and their

people, attitude toward the epoch and the Latvian history, and told many unknown facts. In my opinion, all this totality of letters with its variety of opinions and styles represents an invaluable cultural and historical document, maybe, even a monument, to which those historians who will write about the third awakening period in Latvia, will come back again and again.

Because, in spite of the summer vacations time and relatively short duration of the poll (we could take into account only those letters, which reached us prior to 7 Sep 88), the poll became the widest political inquiry in the history of Soviet Latvia until now. It received more signatures than those sent against the Daugavpils HES and the Riga metro, and more than the Writers' congress resolution and the status of the Latvian language.

The number of the received letters and petitions is 11351, number of signatures is 123473, and 174 letters were recognized as invalid. Let us analyze 11,174 letters with 123,066 signatures (including the 35,000 signatures collected by the Environment protection club and 1,132 signatures of the Gaudeamus-10 participants). The opinions are divided, as follows:

- a) to recognize the red-white-red color set as the national symbol: 10,324 signatures (8.4 percent)
- b) to recognize the red-white-red flag as the national flag: 93,657 signatures (76.1 percent)
- c) to recognize the red-white-red flag as the official LaSSR State flag: 29,796 signatures (24.2 percent)
- d) to reject the red-white-red symbolism altogether: 127 signatures (0.1 percent)

Thus, the absolute majority (99.9 percent of those who put their signatures and 99.1 percent of letters) supported the recognition of the white-red-white, mostly as the national flag, even though some of those who support the opinion (a) rejected the notion of using this symbolism as the national flag. Many people voted for 2 options at the same time (for (a) and (b), or (b) and (c)). Therefore, it is no surprise that the total of opinions exceeds 100 percent.

Many peasants, workers (I want especially to stress that also workers, because here and there statements were made that workers either reject the red-white-red flag, or are passively against it), office workers, representatives of intelligentsia, many retirees, many young people, Party members, and non-members expressed their opinions. In order for this classification not to sound too bureaucratic, I will mention only certain actual professions provided by the writers themselves: concrete

pourer, carpenter, truck driver, fisherman, ship mechanic, ship cook, land surveyor, smith, accountant, shop assistant, hairdresser, lawyer, stoker, baker, chimney sweep, chef, bank worker, typesetter etc. People of the Latvian society of blind persons, a deaf girl, a 102-year-old women (A. Medlevska, Riga) and a 98-year-old grandmother from Salaspils, a Lutheran minister and a Catholic priest supported the red-white-red flag. The flag is also supported by (many, very many!) Latvian boys serving in the Soviet Army in the Baltic military district, in the RSFR, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the GDR and Afghanistan (sometimes, soldiers of other nationalities, namely, Estonians, Russians, Moldavians, and Georgians were signing these letters together with Latvians). A letter has reached us signed by 39 persons, who stated their full names, which wrote the following: "We want very much to add our voices. Maybe, they will not be taken into account, because at the present time we are in prison. Is it a reason that we should not live our life and vote for the republic's symbol?" Latvians, wrote from Moscow, Estonia, and Lithuania. Already after the poll's completion, 9 September 1988, we received 243 signatures from Latvians living abroad. Unfortunately, we could not include them in the official account, but we thank them for solidarity and cooperation.

Today the most important fact is that we received so many more letters from the so-called "simple people", which were written by an inexperienced hand. Letters, whose authors wrote to the newspaper for the first and maybe last time, marked by deep patriotism and people's wisdom. Letters, which sometimes caused a lump in one's throat.

Those, who expressed their opinions were mostly Latvians. However, many letters had a footnote that an multiethnic family is writing (for example, Pantyukhov, Riga) and the family is united in their opinion. Relatively few letters were written in Russian. However, we must add that letters from working collectives contained together with the Latvian names a number of Russian, Ukrainian, and other names. Approximately 100 letters were written by the Latvian Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, and they mostly supported the red-white-red flag, though they asked not to use it as the Latvian national symbol only, but to unite under it all ethnic groups living in Latvia. "Only the flag of the whole Latvia will be able to unite the ethnic groups living in Latvia. I think that the majority of the Russian speaking people will support the restoration of the Latvian national colors, if they would feel that their, quite often very pragmatic, interests are being observed", Doctor D. Kremer wrote. S. Nalivayko from Audrini wrote: "Maybe, the red-white-red symbolisms may be also used by those non-Latvians, who were always concerned for the fate of the Latvian people, who experienced together many bitter moments, and who always respected the Latvian traditions, history, and culture".

The well-known sociologist Talivaldis Vilcins made an assessment of how representative the poll was, that is, to what a degree the letters and the signatures represent the

public opinion, by using the recognized in the sociological studies people's typologization scheme from the point of view of social activity (V. Gerchikov, 1977). These are the results: 1) sample population can reflect at a quite high level ($m=+1$ percent; $P=0.95$) the views of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd social activity groups. 2) a direct correlation between the number of letters and the number of the Latvian nationality residents on the 1 Jan 88 (the correlation factor for the towns under the republican subordination is 0.93, that for the rayons is 0.92), which confirms that the response was not to any substantial degree affected by the local conditions, and we can speak about the nation's solid attitude at this level of response.

Of course, we cannot contend that the poll's results allow one unambiguously to judge what is the opinion of each particular person. There will be many indifferent people too. Therefore, I do not know whether there will be only 0.1 or 0.9 percent among Latvians objecting to the red-white-red symbolism. I would rather assess their number at 5-10 percent, as it was admitted by the poll organizers in Plavinas and Suntazhi; some others, it seems, do not want now to express their opinions and to defend them actively. I only want to remind one more time that, the Working group took into consideration not only the letters objecting the red-white-red colors sent to PADOMJU JAUNATNE (there were 65 such letters), but also petitions addressed directly to the higher authorities (total of 105 letters with 127 signatures).

Indeed, there were unexpectedly few letters against the red-white-red flag. Among these letters was a letter from the Latvian union of the former prisoners of fascist concentration camps (signed by the chairman A. Grikitis), from several Party and the Great Patriotic war veterans, LaCP Limbazhi rayon Party committee chairman Z. Murnieks, whose objections were correct and argumented. I must add that other Party and war veterans (among them the former political prisoner of the Riga Central prison and Salaspils camp H. Vinkmane, and the invalid of the Great Patriotic war, deputy chairman of the War veteran's society J. Vucens) expressed an opposing opinion. The main arguments of the red-white-red symbolism opponents is that the Bolsheviks never recognized this flag as their own, that it was the official symbol of the bourgeois Latvia's statehood, and that nationalists under the cover of these colors committed grave crimes during the Hitlerites occupation and the first post-war years. In addition, concerns are being expressed that the red-white-red flag could become the symbol of nationalistic extremists' consolidation and cause problems among nationalities.

I think that we must listen to this opinion also, and in a purely humane way, we must understand and respect the life drama of the honest veterans ("if you have just a little respect toward the Red riflemen and the Great Patriotic war participants, I beg you to allow us to die without bitterness under the Soviet Latvia's flag", wrote the veteran of the Great Patriotic war, prisoner of the Salaspils camp, Brugis from Mazzalve). However, even

they would have to listen to the voice of our times, because the absolute majority think differently, that is, that the red-white-red flag was the symbol of the Latvian people nationality in general rather than of the Latvian bourgeoisie only, and that not the flag should be blamed for crimes but rather people committing them. Many authors say that the anti-peoples, anti-Soviet, and anti-Socialists actions (and not only against the Latvian people) at an incomparably larger scale were committed under the cover of the red revolutionary flag of the USSR during the 30's through 50's by those people, who on a mass scale eliminated representatives of all Soviet people. However, we are not going to abandon the red flag, which is recognized and respected by all people as the symbol of the USSR, because of the criminal and condemned actions of these people and even of the leader of the Party (J. Stalin).

Not a single one of many letters makes a contraposition between the red-white-red flag and the red revolutionary and the USSR State flag.

30 Sep 88, p 4

[Excerpts]

The attitude toward the present flag of the republic is less unanimous. Very many people do not know the origin of the present red-blue-with-stripes republican flag. I examined the history of this flag and described it in detail in another place (CINA, 22,23,25 Sep 88), and here I want to note only that the flag was adopted in the early 1953, shortly before Stalin's death (design author Artur Lapinsh). The flag has nothing to do with Stalin's repressions, on the contrary, in a sense its appearance is connected with the first "thaw" that took place after Stalin's death, because they started actually using the flag during the summer of 1953.

The letters contain many critical objections against the red-blue-with-stripes flag; 24.2 percent of people think that the red-white-red flag should be recognized already now as the Latvian State flag. Electrical engineer A. Skuja writes: "The present nontraditional with regard to heraldry and even slightly naive LaSSR flag, which was adopted almost without anybody noticing it during the last period of Stalin's cult culmination, has never achieved in the minds of people's masses a real linkage with the nonexistent until now actual sovereignty of the republic. Its use until now was and still is nothing more than a formality which has on ties with any symbolism connected in turn with the nation's or people's traditions. Therefore, it is difficult to speak about this flag sanctity in the minds of the widest layers of population opposite the red-white-red flag, which for many years has accompanied Latvia in its statehood origins, cultural awakening, and economic progress; and due to these achievements it has earned a halo of sanctity based on real traditions and has preserved it for at least two generations of the Latvian residents and their today's descendants. It would be desirable to start

the new pace, the new life of the republic with the new, respected by all, flag, which would be based on the whole progressive heritage of previous generations."

A. Orlovsks from Riga is of another opinion that "the present Latvian flag completely corresponds with our republic being a sea country, because our people since ancient times were connected with the sea. In addition, no other country has such a flag. In my opinion, our flag is the most beautiful in the world. Why do we need a flag similar to flags of other countries? No woman likes to be dressed as her friend does. Let us leave the old flag in a museum."

A family of Petrov-Lavinsh also writes: "We assume that many of our compatriots accept and even like the red-white-red flag, but to us it means nothing. We were born in the 50's and have lived our lives under the beautiful flag of Soviet Latvia, which was a witness of important and serious events. When we see the flag, we always experience deep emotions and satisfaction. It is our Latvia's symbol, indeed. Among other flags of the USSR republics it always seems to be the most beautiful. Therefore, in our opinion, we could discuss the red-white-red flag as a recognized national ethnographic symbol to be preserved, but in no way as a flag of our state."

Such an opinion is also expressed by citizens of the republic of different nationalities, who do not object the red-white-red flag as a national symbol.

At the same time, a large number of people categorically object to the red-white-red flag as the official state flag for completely different reasons, namely, because the republic has not yet acquired its real sovereignty.

A. Ozolinsh from Valmiera writes: "To recognize the red-white-red flag as the official flag of the republic would be a blasphemy. Therefore, the only option is to make it a national flag. In my opinion it would mean telling the Latvian people that they are recognized as a nation and, at the same time, giving them a small glimmer of hope, faith, and even a guarantee that everything possible and even more is being done for the Latvian people to live in the 21st century."

Ilga Reizniece from Ilgi expressed it more emotionally: "This year, for the first time in my life, I walked under the red-white-red flag during the Baltika festival. And for the first time I understood what I was only singing about before. I also felt that these colors are indeed in our blood, because when I stood under this flag I felt as I have come home. It was the feeling of my grandmother, who, as my mother told me, when the time came to leave home and hide in the forest, wrapped the red-white-red flag around her body under the clothes. What is the status of the flag today? It can be the state flag only in a free, sovereign Latvia. It would be terrible if the same people who just recently were slandering it, had to recognize the flag. Lies again. It would also be terrible, if it would appear on beer mugs and on pants. Therefore, the flag must be protected

and its use strictly regulated. We are to recognize the painful fact that in spite of our culture being successfully represented in various choral music and music festivals, the general cultural level of the people has substantially fallen behind the impressive facade, and the understanding and feeling of sanctity have been distorted. In me, too. In our conditions I am for the red-white-red flag as the national flag."

A similar view is expressed by the Helsinki-86 group leader J. Vidinsh.

True, there are also thoughts of adding something to the red-white-red flag (sickle and hammer, three stars, oak leaf, even a rooster), or even of forming some kind of a hybrid between the red-blue-with-stripes and the red-white-red flags, thus making it a state flag. However, the absolute majority think that it should not be done, because the flag became a part of folklore, it entered the people's life in its traditional form, and the flag's beauty is exactly in its simplicity, excellent proportions, and pure colors.

Others recommend that Latvians search for new national symbols, which are not connected with "bourgeois Latvia," for example, green-red or modified red-white-red. However, it is doubtful that such proposals would be accepted by the people. A flag cannot be "designed," it is naturally and even spontaneously originated during the crucial hours of a people's life, and, it seems, that during the red-white-red summer of 1988 the majority of the people decided to recognize the red-white-red flag created by Ansis Cirulis as their own.

Reading the letters, a notion is being crystallized that we should recognize the red-white-red flag as the people's flag equivalent to the official State one. In addition, it would be more correct not to talk about the Latvian national symbolism, but rather about the Latvian cultural and historical symbolism as it was also defined in the resolution of the Presidium of the Latvian Cultural foundation. Indeed, this symbolism originated during the people's awakening age, when the notion of Latvia appeared for the first time. Therefore, it cannot be considered a purely ethnic symbolism. On the other hand, it would help to escape the deliberately imposed confusion (national versus nationalistic) and would allow Latvians as the main nation to consolidate around themselves residents of other nationalities, that is, those who consider our land to be their birthplace and who want to get involved in the struggle for its harmonious development.

The Working group has proposed that the Supreme Soviet Presidium announce that it recognizes the historically developed definite proportions and tones of the red-white-red color set as Latvian cultural and historical symbolism, which may be used in the people's flag, pennants, emblems, pins, and otherwise. The mass production of objects of cultural and historical symbolism is allowed

only with the permission of the Latvian Cultural foundation. Ispolkoms, public organizations, and the mass information media shall carry out measures which would assure the respect of the population toward the USSR and the LaSSR State flags and the Latvian people's flag.

In our opinion, regulations concerning protection and use of the people's flag must be also developed in order for the people to show it without obstacles during the state, people's, working, and family celebrations, during meetings, demonstrations, etc., and to raise it near homes, except the places and cases, when in accordance with regulations, the USSR and the LaSSR State flags must be raised. If I correctly understand it, the people's flag will be permitted to be raised during Ligo celebrations, song festivals, New Year, family occasions (weddings, silver anniversaries), etc., but it will not be permitted to replace (or be raised together with) the republican flag during State holidays.

Time will show whether the red-white-red flag will actually enter the consciousness of all the citizens of Soviet Latvia as the common symbol, uniting all people, the symbol of restructuring and renovation of the republic. In order for this to happen, we are to explain thoughtfully the flag's history, philosophy, especially among citizens of other nationalities, avoiding writing deplorable, one-sided, and biased articles offending the dignity of the majority of the Latvian people, and the most important thing, changing the whole psychological climate of interethnic relations in Latvia. We want to hope that with time, maybe after 5 years, we will return in the most natural way to the question of the Latvian State flag, because a basis for its positive resolution will be developed.

I think that our poll was extremely important. It convincingly demonstrated that the red-white-red flag is not the dream of a very few people. It has deep roots in the people, especially, in the working people and not only in the intelligentsia, in all generations. Also, a large part of the people saved the image of the flag as one of the national sanctity. It is proof that the fear in society is being overcome: people have the courage to sign and to write, and they get assurance that something depends on them also in spite of resistance being felt in some places (for example, there were cases in the Rezekne rayon, when the lists for signing the red-white-red flag poll were taken away). We also must be tolerant of opposing opinions, as long as they are honestly expressed. The majority of people do not look at the past (this also is necessary; even a contemptuous official attitude toward the past must be assessed and looked upon dialectically), but rather at the present and into the future, because the red-white-red flag problem is connected with the faith in perestroyka and the republic moving ahead. And finally, the flag for the majority of people is something profoundly personal and very important. Many people wrote that a regiment is disbanded after its flag is lost.

The flag is again raised as a sanctity, as the people's consciousness, the factor uniting the nation and the land, which means that the regiment is not disbanded.

We want to hope that the people's opinion will help the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to make the correct decisions which will be as important to the people as to the Supreme Soviet. The leading scientist of the Computing Center at the Latvian State University, J. Sedols writes: "Whatever the reason, but the seemingly impossible has happened, and thanks to perestroyka and Gorbachev for it. As to the red-white-red flag, I think that it cannot be simply prohibited anymore. People would definitely consider such an act to be a defeat of perestroyka and the return to old methods. In my opinion, we should not make it the LaSSR State flag, at least not for the time being, because there are many people who would not accept it, while the State flag must be respected whether you want it or not. Let us not press this flag upon those to whom it is alien, but let us allow those, for whom it is a sanctity, to raise it. Then, always, seeing it flying, we will know that it is raised voluntarily and freely without 'instruction from higher authorities.' This is my opinion."

So much for the flag. Next time, I will discuss other symbols. (To be continued.)

Readers, 'Interfront' Officials Discuss Organization's Origins, Role
18000146a SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
29 Oct 88 p 4

[Article: "Interfront": Pro and Con"]

[Text] [Letters to the Editor]

The Republic Is Our Common Home

I completely support the idea and organizational measures for creating the International Front of Workers of Soviet Latvia. I want to take active part in consolidating the international friendship of all the peoples in our republic, in fulfilling the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and in improving the economy of Latvian SSR.

A. Poleshchuk.

We Are Ready to Work Aggressively

My associates and I welcome the creation of "Interfront" and are ready to work aggressively in it for the success of perestroyka—but real perestroyka, rather than the kind that is being touted by "superdemocrats" such as the notorious delegate from Kraslava to the NFL [Popular Front of Latvia] congress. We thank you for the firm party position that SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA has been occupying at the present time. I am ready to render material support to the International Front of the Workers of Latvia.

S. Kakurin.

I Support the NFL!

There have been many rumors recently. Both to the effect that Latvians want to secede from the USSR, and that they want to evict all non-Latvians from Latvia—an amount of money that is being offered to persons leaving has even been mentioned. But it was not until I had heard almost everything that had been said at the constituent congress of the NFL and that is contained in the program and the resolutions, that I understood a great deal. It is a good thing that the congress proceedings were shown on television and simultaneously broadcast on the radio. It was obvious who is who. I was offended by several statements, and that confirmed that the rumors were not empty ones. Actually, a certain number of Latvians do have an anti-Soviet frame of mind. They include a certain representative of the Helsinki-86 group and the movement for an independent Latvia, as well as the delegate from Kraslava. They want a Latvia based on their concept and they do not conceal that fact. But other Latvians do not want this, and they mentioned a better life in the republic. And no one who listened to the congress session to the very end can fail to see that the healthy forces of the Latvian nation were victorious there.

I understood a lot. True, not everything. I did not understand why the citizenship of the Latvian republic must be introduced. That is something that someone will have to explain to me. But I am for the NFL. My life has developed in such a way that, since the end of the war, I have been an inhabitant of the Baltic area. Unfortunately, I cannot communicate in a single language, although I understand a lot. I consider the Baltic area to be my home and I want it to be clean, light, and happy. But certain people who pine for a bourgeois Latvia do not want this. And we must all oppose them by the mutual understanding between Latvians and non-Latvians, and by our friendship. I call upon people not to give in to the provocations that play into the hands of the anti-Soviet forces.

T. Fedorova.

We Must Fight Consciously for Perestroyka

I welcome the idea of "Interfront" and am ready immediately to enter it and begin aggressive actions for perestroyka. But I would like to add an emphasis on the class content of the fight for perestroyka.

I have absolutely no doubt that in our society (although it has been proclaimed "developed socialism") class differences in the Marxist-Leninist sense are still preserved and, possibly, have reached the point of antagonistic contradictions. Therefore I consider it to be very important to see the class coloration of any movement. It is necessary to remember Lenin's warning: we must look behind any moral, religious, political, or social phrases,

statements, or promises, in order to find the interests of various classes.

When we take consideration of everything and when we understand what kind of a house we are living in, then the struggle being waged by the working nation for social justice and for socialism will become a powerful force. The working class (and the present-day kolkhoz member does not differ in any way from a worker) always feels intuitively who is who, who is defending his interests, and who is defending his own interests. And the present-day working class, both on the basis of education and on the basis of the form of its labor, differs only slightly from the technical intelligentsia, and with respect to its awareness and its political maturity it stands much higher than the "rally" intelligentsia.

V. Semengor,
Party organization secretary,
Daugavpils SPTU-21

Who Is Driving in the Wedge?

After reading the article "Under the Flag of Internationalism" in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, I was stunned. Was I really to believe that the comrades who had decided to create yet another organization—the International Front—did not understand that the Popular Front of Latvia was calling upon everyone to resolve the critically important questions with a consideration of the democratic rights of all the nationalities living on the territory of Latvia? Was I really to believe that they had not heard that the NFL had called upon all the inhabitants of the republic to consolidate themselves in the fight against bureaucratism and the consequences of Stalinism and authoritarianism? And if, at the NFL congress, certain speakers expressed poorly thought-out, and sometimes even antisocialist, statements, that fact should by no means be attributed to the entire Latvian nation, the overwhelming majority of representatives of which have been internationalists since time immemorial and continue to be such.

Therefore the slogan "Consolidate your ranks to repel the extremists who are encroaching upon the integrity of the union of fraternal republics, who are attempting to drive a wedge between the peoples of our country!" is insulting and unacceptable for the Latvian nation... I propose that we refrain from carrying out a schism and from doing anything more to worsen the relations between the representatives of various nationalities—that will not lead to anything good. Please be more restrained. Please understand how insulting it is to hear the words "nationalist" and "fascist," which are being directed more and more frequently toward Latvians. Our nation does not deserve this. And we—Communist Latvians and participants in the NFL movement—on our part will take energetic steps to stop the extremist acts if individual persons who have not thought things out

carefully should attempt to commit them. We shall consolidate ourselves under the internationalistic slogans of the Popular Front of Latvia.

E. Silmanis,

Veteran of the 201st (43rd Guards) Latvian Rifle Division,

CPSU member since 1950, participant in the NFL,

Member of the USSR Journalists' Union.

We Need A United Popular Front

Much is being said currently about the fact that the loud applause that the audience gave to the extremely nationalistic statements made by individual delegates to the constituent congress of the NFL did not, by any means, indicate their approval, but it was simply that in this way the persons present were expressing their enthusiasm with respect to the victory of the pluralism of opinions and the complete freedom of speech. But however one explains that fact, it created a painful impression on the Russian-speaking audience.

Extremities in policy, and especially in the national question, never lead to anything good. So now "Interfront" has appeared as a counterbalance to the Popular Front. Stating the situation in simpler terms, the democratic movement of the nation is proceeding toward a schism. That was mentioned by Communists from the party organization of the Purvtsiyems housing cooperative at the 18 October meeting with NFL representative A. Yakobson. The party organization consists basically of party, war, and labor veterans, that is, people who have seen a lot, and people who know life not from what they have read. The veterans expressed their doubt with respect to a number of points in the NFL program, such as the creation of republic-level military formations, republic currency, or calling upon the NFL to reject the mandatory study of atheism in the educational system. It was also stated that for the time being all the republic's peoples and classes are not represented on an equal basis in the NFL. It turns out that the Popular Front rests upon half the republic's population, that is, it seems to be standing on one leg, and it cannot continue to do that for long.

But the main danger, according to the veterans, lies in the possibility that the nation will be split into two parts, into two fronts, when one reproaches the other by saying, "You're bad!" in response to which the other said, "No, you're the ones who are bad!" People's energy will be dissipated in squabbling. But the Popular Front is confronted by important and very complicated tasks. For example, it must help to convert the economy from the extensive path to methods of cost accountability; it must prevent ecological damage to the republic, and primarily

the death of Yurmala; it must strive for the assimilation of neglected land and farms, for real bilingualism, etc. The nation will be able to cope with those tasks if it remains whole.

The veterans feel that the leaders of NFL and "Interfront" must be completely aware of this simple truth, and must find within themselves the political wisdom and boldness to make an acceptable compromise and to unite the forces of the democratic movement in the republic, as is required by the higher interests of the nation. Only then will the united Popular Front become what it must be—the motivating force of perestroyka.

G. Serebryanskiy,
Party organization secretary,
Purvtsiyems ZhSK

Seeing the Most Important Thing in a Person

I was present at a meeting in the club of the Latviya Production Association and I am very glad that I did not hear any appeals to respect and support any individual nation. It is definitely time to stop the propagandizing of enmity among nationalities. We must not allow anyone to destroy the close friendly ties that have developed during all these years among the republic's inhabitants of various nationalities. I call upon people to see in everyone—the person living in your building, working beside you at work, traveling next to you—first of all a citizen and to respect him not because of who his parents were or because of which language he speaks. The most important thing is what kind of person he actually is, how he does his job, and what his attitude is toward his family and toward the society in which he lives.

I. Kurzemniyetse.

The letters that were quoted above are only a few of the ones that were sent to the editorial office. They can all be conventionally divided into two piles: "pro" and "con" with respect to "Interfront."

Our correspondent had a discussion with the following members of the organizing committee of the International Front of the Workers of Soviet Latvia:

Nikolay Kalatskiy, student at LGU [Latvian State University] imeni P. Stuchka;

Artur Liberts, employee of the Zapryba Sales Office in Riga, participant in the Great Patriotic War;

Georgiy Rozhanskiy, communications installer, Medik SRSEU; and

Alfred Sokolov, candidate of legal sciences, assistant professor, RKIIGA imeni Leninist Komsomol.

[Correspondent] The first question to the members of the organizing committee is: why and how did "Interfront" arise?

[Answer] "Interfront" began to be created spontaneously. It was a reaction to the unprecedented situation that had arisen after the constituent congress of the NFL, when half the inhabitants of the republic and a tremendous number of the workers did not understand what they were—fully enfranchised citizens or "wandering cosmopolitans" who from that day on would have to act in the role of supplicants of citizenship either before the NFL Duma or the leadership of Soviet Latvia.

Professional politicians and scientists will have to carry out a thorough analysis of the causes that necessitated the creation of "Interfront." But at the present time one can discern the following.

First, the substitution of slogans. The slogans of perestroyka which initially were positively perceived were torn down by the open anti-Soviet and anti-imperialistic nature of most of the statements made by delegates to the NFL congress. To the accompaniment of high-sounding words about democracy and glasnost, bourgeois-nationalistic tendencies were dragged in.

Second, the confrontation between the republic's inhabitants of Latvian and non-Latvian origin, which had been intensively heated up for several months by certain mass-information media, became a clearly drawn line during the days when the NFL was being formed.

Instead of matters that were really of vital importance for absolutely everyone, there was an abusive clarification of whose culture and whose language was higher and better. But the force of perestroyka lies not in the confrontation between people of different nationalities, but in the consolidation of the entire nation, the basis of which must be formed by the internationalistic Leninist principles.

Third, something that caused a tremendous amount of alarm was the fact that the so-called migratory part of the population, rising to action spontaneously, can give a physical rebuff, by-passing the forms of dialogue and persuasion. Instances of everyday conflicts on national soil are an extremely alarming situation.

Not only commonsense, but also good will, must become a deterrent to possible open confrontation.

And, finally, the fourth cause that led to the creation of "Interfront": the manipulation of the terms "nationalism" and "chauvinism" and the irresponsible game of playing with people's national feelings. This deflects everyone from the real issues, heats up a stressful situation, and depresses people who only yesterday had been energetic and active. All of this only plays into the hand not only of those "ladies and gentlemen" who, under the flag of perestroyka, are attempting to resolve their own

problems, but also those persons who represent the shaken, but still monolithic, bureaucratic apparatus. It is advantageous for them when people get "burned up" about the national question, rather than engaging in real perestroika.

"Interfront" has become, in many people's eyes, a force that is capable of opposing the alarming situation in the republic, that is capable of consolidating people. And that is why it is being created. "Interfront" made a declaration about itself as a social organization for the first time on 14 October, at a meeting of representatives of a number of labor collectives, which was held in accommodations provided at the clubhouse of the Latviya RPSchO. Almost simultaneously a similar meeting was held at RKIIGA, jointly with NII ASUGA and with the workers of Plant No. 85. With every new meeting, new adherents of the movement sprang up at dozens of labor collectives. At the present time there is information concerning the creation of primary organizations in Riga, Liyepaya, Ventspils, Yelgava, Jurmala, Bauska, Tesis, Yekabpils, Rezekne, Kraslava, Ogre, and Dau-gavpils.

[Correspondent] How many adherents does "Interfront" have?

[Answer] Inasmuch as the process of creation of the primary organizations is currently under way, we cannot give a precise figure. But already there are approximately 300,000. How many people will enter "Interfront" will become known when the organizing committee received complete information. We have two forms of membership: collective and individual. If people enter "Interfront" at their place of work or training, then, in addition to their name, a record is also made of their occupation, nationality, and party membership. The individual members entering "Interfront" at their place of residence also indicate their home address. We want to emphasize that the information that certain people are spreading concerning "forced" admission into "Interfront" does not correspond to reality. The organizing committee has not given, and does not have the right to give, such instructions to anyone. Supporting the movement, and especially joining it, is something that is decided by the labor collectives and by the people themselves.

[Correspondent] Who directs "Interfront"?

[Answer] We have already said that our movement was born quite recently, and the process of its creation is continuing. No specific leader has yet emerged from among the adherents of "Interfront." Therefore, at the very first meeting it was decided that all the organizational questions would be taken care of by the organizing committee, which included persons of various nationalities and representatives of various social groups. The number of members of the organizing committee will also change in accordance with the influx of new primary organizations. For the immediate work, the organizing

committee has created a presidium, and various commissions have been created, including a commission for communication with the press.

We understand the interest that has been shown by television, radio, and newspapers to "Interfront." We are ready to inform others about our goals and tasks, but we do not feel that it is necessary at this time to have the broad discussions that others are attempting to draw us into. There is just one reason for this attitude of ours—the work of preparing the program documents for "Interfront" has not yet been completed.

[Correspondent] A number of letters ask the question: where can people send money to meet the needs of "Interfront"?

[Answer] In a few days we shall submit all the necessary documents to the republic's agencies of authority for the purpose of registering "Interfront." At that time we shall also open up our account, to which it will be possible to transfer money for the carrying out of mass measures and publishing informational materials. We hope that the organizing committee will not encounter any bureaucratic red tape during the registration process. But the final formalization of the movement will occur at the constituent conference (or congress) for which we have begun the preparations. Incidentally, those who would like to take part in preparing the program and rules for "Interfront" can call the telephone numbers 24-01-74 or 24-01-01, or get in touch with members of the organizing committee.

[Correspondent] What interrelationships do you think that "Interfront" will have with the party and with the soviets?

[Answer] The adherents of our organization include many members of the CPSU. In all the documents that we adopt, the first things that we shall acknowledge are the party's guiding role, and the support of its strategic course and the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. We shall implement all of this in practical deeds, in close cooperation with the primary party organizations. "Interfront's" goals are inseparable from the goals of the CPSU.

We completely support the slogan "All power to the soviets!" We see ourselves as assistants of the soviets at all levels, and we actively support every candidate deputy who stands on internationalistic positions. We shall also nominate our own candidates for election to the soviets.

[Correspondent] And what interrelationships with the NFL do you foresee?

[Answer] We are not in favor of a split in society. Therefore we support the idea of consolidating all the healthy forces. We are ready to consider specific questions and specific recommendations. However, we feel

that it necessary for the NFL not only publicly to delimit itself from the extremist statements, but also to exclude the unconstitutional demands from its program. We are categorically against the granting of exclusivity to any nation, because that automatically lessens the rights of other nations.

[Correspondent] Are you ready to take part in a forum of the republic's nations?

[Answer] Of course, but only in that forum which, as has been defined by the buro of the Latvian CP, will be conducted by the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. We do not understand why the initiative for organizing it, and even its date, are being determined by the NFL Duma, which is supposed to be only one of the many members of the organizing committee for the forthcoming forum.

[Correspondent] What do the adherents of "Interfront" consider to be their real contribution to the support of perestroyka?

[Answer] First of all, the real influence they can exert on the course of events. We are concerned that, under the slogans concerning the creation of a rule-of-law state, the eroding of legality is under way. The Appeals of the CPSU Central Committee for the 71st Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution state, "Citizens of the USSR! We shall create a socialist rule-of-law state that confirms the supremacy of the law, human rights and freedoms, and the authority of power!" Is it possible to bring in under this law, for example, such as act of vandalism as the tearing of the memorial plaque from the building of RPI [Riga Polytechnical Institute] imeni A. Pelshe? We have no intention of evaluating the personality of A. Pelshe, but we are only asking whether such actions can be allowed in a rule-of-law state? If the institute has been given that name by decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, then they are the only agencies that have the right to make another decision. Otherwise this is pure anarchy, which, without meeting any rebuff, can lead to much more serious consequences. We would like to hear through your newspaper the opinion of the Riga procurator with regard to this question.

Also, we were all enraged when, despite the attempts to prevent the rally scheduled by the informals on 22 October, it was nevertheless authorized and proceeded to no small extent under extremist slogans. Why didn't the people at the Riga City Ispolkom listen to the opinion of the labor collectives that had been expressed definitely and unambiguously? The "Interfront" organizing committee makes the following statement in this connection: if, in the future, manifestations with a similar antisocialist and nationalistic directedness are going to be authorized, then "Interfront" retains the right to use any constitutional forms of protest.

"Interfront" feels that, if the republic's Supreme Soviet has deemed it possible to accept the status of the Latvian language as a state language, although such a concept has not yet been developed throughout the country, then the Constitution of Latvian SSR should firmly establish two completely equal state languages—Latvian and Russian. Therefore we shall take active part in the referendum on this question. Simultaneously we insist on finally having created the normal conditions for studying the Latvian language in educational institutions of all types. It is absurd to require this knowledge on the part of children who have deprived not only of effective methodologies of instruction and of the proper textbooks, but even of teachers of the Latvian language. There are schools where that position has been vacant for many years. In addition, adults must be given the opportunity to master the Latvian language. There are a considerable number of persons wishing to do so, but their enthusiasm is waning for the same reasons. The study of a state language must be approached in a state way. For example, the instruction should be given with time off from work and with the retention of the average wages.

"Interfront" will also speak out against any attempts to infringe upon the rights of the republic's inhabitants, including attempts made by means of the enactment of an undemocratic law governing citizenship.

We support all that is positive in the NFL program with respect to concern for the economy and the ecology. And we are ready to cooperate in these areas on a completely equal basis. We have a number of points of contact with those who are truly concerned about the fates of perestroyka and who are in favor of assuring that the entire population of the republic lives better. At the present time the "Interfront" organizing committee is determining the specific things that each of the primary organizations can do. For example, the scientists at RKIIGA are capable of making an important contribution to ecologically pure production, and to the protection of the environment. Scientists at the institute are developing lightweight flying apparatuses, purification structures, and windmills. The institute can also train the appropriate specialists for motor, rail, and river transport.

The organizing committee feels that there is also a need for concrete practical deeds in which our adherents could take part during the time when they are free from work. These actions will be announced soon, and we hope that this will prove to be of benefit to the republic.

We are not "migrants to whom nothing is dear." We live here. And there it is not by words, but in a real way, that we are joining in the work of assuring that perestroyka, with which so many hopes are linked, does not just keep spinning its wheels, and that the country's economy is not thrown backward.

[Correspondent] Thank you for giving us the opportunity to inform our newspaper's readers about "Interfront's" first steps.

New 1st Secretary Elected by Lithuanian CP CC Plenum

Information Report on Plenum
*18000186a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
21 Oct 88 p 1*

[Article: "Information Report on the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania"]

[Text] The 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania was held in Vilnius on 20 October.

Participants of the plenum discussed an organizational question.

The plenum released Comrade R. Songayla from the duties of first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and Buro member as a result of his retirement.

Speakers at the plenum included V. S. Babichev, deputy chief, Department of Organizational Party Work, CPSU Central Committee; K. Zaletskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Vilnius Gorkom; R. Rimaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Kaunas Gorkom; A. Zhukauskas, vice-president of LiSSR Academy of Sciences; A. Zhalis, chairman of the Klaypeda City Ispolkom; R. Sikorskis, LiSSR Minister of Finance; P. Noreyka, director of the Lithuanian GRES imeni V. I. Lenin; B. Zaykauskas, chairman of the LiSSR State Planning Commission; V. F. Korniyenko, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Shirvintskiy Raykom; S. Shimkus, rector of the Vilnius Higher Party School; K. Ashmonas, assembly worker at the Baltiya Shipyard; V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet; V. Sakalauskas, chairman of LiSSR Council of Ministers; S. Gerdaitis, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; I. Yanuytis, personal-pension recipient; V. Stulyavichyus, vice-president of LiSSR Academy of Sciences; V. Kashauskene, director of the Institute of Party History, under Lithuanian CP Central Committee; A. Matsaytis, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Komsomol; N. A. Mitkin, second secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; Yu. Pozhela, president of LiSSR Academy of Sciences; and Yu. Antanaytis, secretary of the Lithuanian Republic Council of Trade Unions.

Comrade A. Brazauskas was elected first secretary of Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

The plenum adopted a resolution entitled "Second Secretary of Lithuanian CP Central Committee," by which it gave the Buro of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee the responsibility of introducing for consideration at the next plenum of the Central Committee the question of N. A. Mitkin, second secretary of Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

R. Songayla spoke at the conclusion of the plenum. A speech was given by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

Ye. N. Trofimov, sector chief, Department of Organizational Party Work, CPSU Central Committee, also took part in the work of the plenum.

Biographical Information on Brazauskas
*18000186b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
21 Oct 88 p 1*

[Article: "Algirdas Mikolas Brazauskas, first Secretary of Lithuanian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] Born in 1932 in Rokishkis, parents employees.

Graduated in 1951 from secondary school, matriculated at Kaunas Polytechnical Institute imeni Antanas Smechkus, took active part in students' scientific and Komsomol activities.

After completing his training and receiving in 1956 a certificate as a hydraulic-construction engineer, worked at the construction of the Kaunas Hydroelectric Power Station, headed the construction-and-installation administration of a power-construction trust and other subdivisions of the construction complex.

In 1965 was appointed LiSSR minister of the construction materials industry, and a year later, first deputy chairman of LiSSR Gosplan.

In 1959 A. M. Brazauskas was accepted into the ranks of the CPSU and participated actively in the work of the party organizations of labor collectives and the republic. He was elected member of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, and in 1977 was elected secretary and member of the Buro of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

In recognition of his merits in developing the republic's national economy and his energetic social activities, was awarded the Order of the October Revolution, two Orders of Labor Red Banner, Badge of Honor, and medals. Since 1967 has been elected deputy to the LiSSR Supreme Soviet.

In 1974 A. M. Brazauskas was awarded the scientific degree of candidate of economic sciences. He is an LiSSR Honored Engineer.

Married. Wife Yuliya is a doctor. Two children, four grandchildren.

Brazauskas Press Interview

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 Oct 88
pp 1, 3

[Article by A. Gelbakh: "A Time of Interesting, Important Matters"]

[Text] This has never happened before. The plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee had ended late the night before, and yesterday morning the new first secretary of the Central Committee, Algirdas-Mikolas Kazevich Brazauskas, was answering questions posed by numerous representatives of the republic, national, and foreign mass information media. Others who participated with him at the press conference were: A. Shepetis, chairman of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee; V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Presidium of LiSSR Supreme Soviet; P. Ignotas, deputy chairman of LiSSR Council of Ministers; K. Zaletskas, first secretary of the party's Vilnius GK [Gorkom]; and V. Zheymantas, deputy chief, Department of Propaganda, Lithuanian CP Central Committee. The press conference was conducted by R. Malishauskas, LiSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. In the name of those who had gathered there, and the republic's entire journalistic corps, D. Shnyukas, chairman of the board of LiSSR Journalists Union, congratulated A. Brazauskas on the occasion of his election as first secretary of Lithuanian CP Central Committee, and expressed his confidence that close contacts with the mass information media would be maintained in the future.

That question was not the first one, but the answer to it reflected well the essence of what A. Brazauskas had spoken about. A LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, having defined the time during which A. Brazauskas had occupied the post of first secretary as a difficult time, asked him to discuss his specific work program, and to tell whether he felt that economic sovereignty and cost accountability are truly feasible in Lithuania.

"The time is not so much difficult as it is interesting," Algirdas Kazevich stated. I have spent just one night as the first secretary, and it would be naive for me to assume that I am immediately capable of precisely outlining the work program. I consider it to be my first and very responsible task to express in a worthy manner the opinion and position of the Central Committee and the government at the Sayudisa Congress, in the work of which we shall participate actively. This is the main thing. But I can say right now that, first of all, I wish success to the movement and our reciprocal understanding. We have a very large number of goals and noble tasks in common."

Speaking about republic-level cost accountability, Comrade A. Brazauskas emphasized that he had personally taken definite participation in the preparation of the program for the republic's economic independence. At the present time that program is being refined and polished. It is possible that not all 100 percent of its ideas will be accepted and introduced. But it is completely obvious that a large share of them, the basic principles, will be implemented.

It is difficult in a brief newspaper report to enumerate the numerous questions and the answers that were given to them by the first secretary of the Central Committee. I shall mention my own impression: in response to the most "impertinent" questions the answers that followed were frank and precise, sometimes ironic, with a good sense of humor.

It has already become traditional to censure many industrial projects that have been constructed in recent years, with that censure given both from the point of view of the architectural decisions made and from the point of view of causing harm to the environment. What should we do? A. K. Brazauskas formulated his position succinctly:

"What do you mean by 'should we build or should we not build?' Life does not mark time, and the economy must develop. So we will have to build many projects in the future. The only thing is that we must show increased concern for ecological purity, for introducing technological schemes at new enterprises that have no waste products. We must always ask ourselves the question of the economic desirability of building a particular project."

Many journalists asked about the reason for convoking the 14th plenum and the nature of the discussion that occurred there. First of all, the plenum was convoked because of the request that had been made by R. I. Songayla, the former first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, that he be released from the position that he was occupying in order to retire. But that request did not arise all by itself. During the past two weeks, at sessions of the Buro of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, the participants had discussed the question of the sociopolitical situation in the republic. It was acknowledged that individual errors had been committed in the management of party work, and doubt was expressed that Comrade R. I. Songayla could cope with the tasks that had been posed by life.

During the press conference the question arose concerning the plenum's resolution with regard to N. A. Mitkin, second secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, whose actions had also been subjected to criticism. Comrade A. K. Brazauskas made it clear that the Central Committee members and candidate members who had participated in the discussion had sharply censured the practice that had developed traditionally for electing as the Central Committee's second secretary a person who had been sent to the republic by CPSU Central Committee. Lithuania's party organization is interethnic in its

makeup. Under our conditions anyone could become a second secretary—a Russian, a Pole, or a representative of another nationality—but he must have come from Lithuania and must have a good knowledge of its language, culture, national traditions, and the republic's social and economic problems.

In reply to a question about the future Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant, it was firmly stated that two of its units that have already been built will be operated. Obviously, it is necessary to improve the safety system at the nuclear power plant. Nothing definite can be stated as yet concerning the third unit. A nationwide governmental commission has currently been created and it will submit its findings by the end of the year. At that time the problem will become clearer. The republic's government has requested the USSR government to invite an international commission of IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] to achieve a more objective resolution of the problems of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant.

It was reported at the press conference that the materials pertaining to the 14th Central Committee plenum will be published.

Before the plenum, A. K. Brazauskas met with M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of CPSU Central Committee. The participants of the press conference were aware of that fact and, naturally, the question that followed was why, on the eve of the plenum, while in the rank of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee's secretary for industry, had A. K. Brazauskas been received by the General Secretary? Did that not mean that he had been previously assured of his election to replace R. I. Songayla? The participants of the press conference were given the explanation that, on the eve of its trip to Moscow, the Buro of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee had decided to recommend A. K. Brazauskas as candidate for the position of first secretary of the Central Committee. There had been preliminary meetings and chats with many Central Committee members. But introducing himself to the General Secretary before the conducting of the plenum was a courtesy. In this regard it is necessary to emphasize that the members of the republic's Central Committee had elected Comrade A. K. Brazauskas as first secretary unanimously.

During that meeting Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev not only did not express any concern about the events that were occurring in the republic, as had been assumed by the journalists who asked that question, but he had said that the upsurge of the population's civic and political participation was a completely natural result of *perestryoka*. He wished success to the Lithuanian people. Algirdas Kazevich Brazauskas will convey that wish today to the delegates to the movement's congress.

An interesting time. A time of energetic, persistent work. That time has come and has rushed headlong into our life. Today our chief task lies in consolidating all the forces of Lithuania's workers to resolve the complicated

but inspiring tasks of restructuring all spheres of our life and of achieving the further improvement of socialism.

Lithuanian Restructuring Movement Draft Program Debate Continues

CPSU Role, Independent Monetary System, Nuclear Free Zone Proposals

18000198a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
20 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed report under rubric "Opinions on the Overall Program of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement": "What Has Been Causing Objections"]

[Text] Having become acquainted with the text that was published in the republic's press as the draft of the overall program of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, we would like first of all to say that we share many of the thoughts expressed in that document that pertain to the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state, the increase of the republic's economic and cultural potential and its sovereignty, the raising of the national standard of living, and the triumph of social justice. At the same time we cannot remain silent about the fact that a number of vague, ambiguous formulations and principles in the draft have evoked among the members of our collective, both Communists and non-party members, a sense of unpleasantness, and in some instances protest.

Section I of the draft, for example, contains the categorical statement, "In Lithuanian SSR the only laws that must be in effect are its laws." The document authors ignore the circumstance that in the USSR, as a single state, there can and must be laws whose mandatory effect extends throughout its territory without exception. Nationwide agencies monitor their application and execution. And we might refine that—we mean law-enforcement agencies, rather than narrowly departmental ones.

The same section states that "the movement does not depend upon any agencies of power whatsoever..., carries out the function of the social monitoring of the power." But the authorized agencies of the sovereignty of the people—the soviets—cannot be accountable to anyone other than the voters. How, then, do the initiators of the movement conceive of the monitoring of the actions of the soviets of people's deputies?

Section II mentions the struggle for the "actual equality of all members of society and organizations, irrespective of the differences in political philosophy or ideology." Ordinary people cannot fail to be concerned by this "ideological omnivorousness" of the movement. If the movement claims that its positions have a high civic spirit, then obviously it must from the very beginning reject (firmly establishing that rejection in its program document) and censure the propaganda of antihuman, racist, nationalistic, and other such ideologies and political philosophies.

Something else that cannot fail to be of concern is the fact that the draft does not contain a single word about the recognition of the guiding role of the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society. But, once again, it contains the categorical statement, "The movement asserts that no political organization has the right to usurp the political power in the republic." You can understand in any way that you wish the position taken by the draft authors with respect to the CPSU—the organization which has been called upon to be the political vanguard of the Soviet nation, and which, incidentally, has been the initiator of perestroyka. Are such omissions and indefinite statements admissible in such a fundamental document as a program?

To continue, Section III contains the demand "to reform the LiSSR Criminal Code in such a way as to remove from it the relics of Stalinism," by which one understands the articles in the code that stipulate criminal responsibility for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, the violation of the laws governing the interrelationships between church and state, and for encroachments on the individual and on the citizens' rights under the guise of performing religious ceremonies and for the spreading of fabrications that are known ahead of time to be false and that discredit the Soviet state and social system. We can agree that the appropriate articles should be rewritten, and changed in such a way that they truly cannot be used for purposes of suppressing people's social participation or for purposes of violating the principles of democracy. But should we completely abolish the laws that punish people for carrying out antigovernmental, illegal activities, albeit only on religious grounds? In what democratic, civilized country would this be possible?

We in principle support and approve those places in the draft that mention the censuring and the overcoming of the consequences of Stalinism. But we cannot agree with the proposals that go beyond the confines of that sphere, for example, with the need to annul "all the limitations for persons of Lithuanian origin to return to Lithuania" (Section III, paragraph 7). The fact that a person belongs to a particular nationality, or has a particular national origin, cannot serve as an amnesty for any crimes that have been committed against mankind. Because are we really supposed to show great hospitality and throw open the doors of the home that we share in common? Are we supposed to proclaim impunity both for such murderers as the Brazinskases who have fled the country, and for the war criminals of the Great Patriotic War who are still alive?

And now a few words about the questions linked with the execution by the citizens of Lithuanian SSR of their military duty, which, incidentally, has been renamed by the initiators of the movement in the draft as "compulsory military duty." Today's procedure for "serving that time" is acknowledge in the document as being "obsolete" and "amoral," and it is proposed that the service in the army be performed only at the person's place of residence and this service is not viewed as an

honorable civic duty to be performed by young people. The recommendation is made that that service could be replaced by "compulsory labor service," and that the pre-induction military training of young people in educational institutions could be discontinued. Without going into the details and discussing all these questions, we are nevertheless convinced that the kind of approach to resolving them that is proposed by the movement is behind the times and, essentially speaking, serves to undermine the defense capability of the USSR. And also, can such questions, in general, be resolved regionally, without the consideration of the interests of all the fraternal union republics taken as a whole?

The reader can also not fail to be confused by the mention of certain "radical actions" carried out "when necessary," when it is a matter of the republic's economic independence and sovereignty, allowing an expanded interpretation that also cannot be inherent in a program document (Section VIII, paragraph 2). The stated support by the movement of the "introduction of an independent monetary system in the republic" causes objections, since this program can scarcely be resolved unilaterally, once again without the consideration of the interests of or the participation of the other union republics. Also, the paragraph concerning the right to private ownership of producer goods (Section VIII) needs definition as to the specific producer goods to which this right can extend.

One is also surprised by the unilateral nature of the final statement in paragraph 2 of Section IX of the program draft: "Lithuania must become part of the nuclear-free zone of Europe (its territory must be demilitarized)." Are we really to believe that the CPSU and our union government have not been conducting a consistent policy that is aimed in the final analysis at disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons? Are we really to believe that questions of demilitarization and the declaration of nuclear-free zones on individual territories of the USSR—whether they be a republic, a kray, an oblast, city, rayon, or workers settlement—can be resolved spontaneously, without any connection to the overall policy of our multinational state?

Summing up what has been stated, we want to state our position clearly (which, incidentally, is something that we would also like to movement to do): we are against all statements and actions that are directed toward the development of national alienation or at the republic's self-isolation. We are convinced that if the movement is actually striving to express the interests of the absolute majority of the republic's population, it should clearly formulate in its program the idea of adherence to the interethnic nature of perestroyka, and take decisive steps to set itself apart from the ideas of national exclusivity.

Acting on the orders of the delegates to the party conference from the Radio-Measurement Instruments Plant imeni 60-letiye Oktyabrya: P. Zhyamaytis, I. Korablikov,

D. Lukoshyavichene, V. Kurkin, A. Moteyunas, L. Filippov, G. Stanyulyavichyus, A. Golozov, R.-A. R. Matskyavichyus, B. Kulebakin, and others; total of 15 signatures.

Language, Religion, Ecology Proposals
*18000198b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
20 Oct 88 p 3*

[Letters: "I Feel..."]

[Text] I would like to make a statement concerning one of the paragraphs in the draft.

The last sentence in Section IV reads: "...to encourage forms of recreational activities that develop the nation's physical and spiritual health." But why doesn't it read: "...to encourage forms of recreational activities that develop the physical and spiritual health of the population of Lithuanian SSR" or "the citizens of Lithuania"? Otherwise extremely unpleasant associations arise.

S. Slitinskaya, Vilnius.

In connection with the 6 October 1988 decree of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "The Status of the Lithuanian Language," and the bringing up of that decree for discussion at the next session, as well as in connection with the publication of the overall program of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, I feel that it is desirable to quote the following sentence from the report on the Interethnic Relations and History press-conference that was held on 1 October 1988 in the course of the constituent congress of the People's Front of Estonia:

"...the proclaiming of the Estonian language as a state language must be accompanied by the adoption of a Law Governing Language, which would provide three basic guarantees: 1) the expansion of the sphere of use of the Estonian language; 2) the possibility of using the Estonian language in dealing with all the official institutions in Estonia; 3) the possibility of using the Russian language in dealing with all the official institutions in Estonia" (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 2 October 1988).

In my opinion, this specific approach is acceptable, since it takes into consideration the real situation also for our republic, also during the immediate future (the transitional period). Without a doubt, naivete, undue haste, and superficiality in such questions must be categorically excluded.

S. Bekaryuk, Vilnius.

I feel that the sentence "Children of parents who are believers must not have forced upon them any antireligious education that runs counter to their convictions" should be replaced by this one: "The propagandizing of atheism is carried out in the state educational institutions on an elective basis, on public principles, on an

unpaid basis. The propagandizing of religion is to be carried out only in buildings that belong to the church." One should not forget that in our society the church is separate from the state.

I object to the paragraph that states "...young men who are inhabitants of Lithuania should perform their military service in Lithuania." I also way to note that the training of "its own" officer complement that is being planned in the republic by Sayudis will necessitate the opening of additional military schools in Lithuania, and this, in my opinion, is economically unprofitable.

V. Dekhtyar, Kaunas.

I would to express a few thoughts with regard to the questions of the ecology.

I propose that the draft of the Sayudis program be augmented by the statement: "The movement fights for the creation of a single fund to defend the environment, which is formed from deductions paid by all enterprises located on the territory of Lithuania, including enterprises of union subordination. The introduction of a special tax, and the attraction of foreign capital, are not precluded.

"The movement demands the creation of an environmental-protection association (firm), made up of an inspection service, an emergency service, research and planning-and-designing bureaus, an experimental station, an enterprise engaged in the manufacture of monitoring-measuring devices and technical means to defend the environment, and a construction-contract organization that is not subordinate to the LiSSR Ministry of Construction."

Yu. Akivis, Klaypeda.

State Language, Nationality, Ignalina AES Issues
*18000198c Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
20 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by Yu. Kruglov, delegate to the 1st Constituent Congress of the Lithuanian Restructuring Committee, and A. Ogiyenko, Ye. Anisimov, and O. Maramzin, members of the organizing group to aid the movement: "We Hope to Find Support"]

[Text] A group to aid the restructuring movement has been created in Snejchkus. At the first meeting, a coordination center was formed and the delegates to the movement's first constituent congress were elected.

We have been impressed by the noble goals and tasks of the movement, its democratic nature and independence, its decisive mood, and its dynamic position. We see in it a real transforming support base and support.

Snechkus today is in the center of attention of the republic's population. A tangled series of problems—social, ecological, national, and linguistic—have formed here. In the resolution of those problems one has not yet felt a self-interestedness either on the part of the departmental organizations or on the part of the republic authorities. In order to untie that tangle, it is necessary to carry out radical measures and to execute a comprehensive, constructive program, in the development of which specialists from various branches must take part. We propose creating under LiSSR Council of Ministers such a competent commission. We are making several concrete proposals for overcoming the situation that has developed.

It is necessary to bring the settlement out of the insular, "blockaded" position in which it finds itself today, and to include it in broad economic, social, and cultural ties with the republic.

A direct path is opened up here by republic-level cost accountability. We support the idea of including the IAES [Ignalina Nuclear Power Station] in the system of regional cost accountability. But it is necessary to go farther than that. It is necessary to get rid of the production monostructure that has developed in Snechkus. In addition to the station, it is necessary to build there an ecological clean, science-intensive, technically perfect enterprise. This, first of all, will make it possible to create jobs for the unemployed inhabitants of Snechkus. (According to the latest information, the settlement already has 1500 unemployed persons, which is a phenomenon that probably is unique for Lithuania. It is time to speak directly about this fact, without remaining shamefully silent.)

Secondly, a new enterprise can attract the representatives of the indigenous population, and this will help to ease the problem of national exclusivity.

And, thirdly, the enterprise will return to Snechkus the future prospects that currently have been lost, will return its faith in tomorrow, and provide the means for further social development.

We persistently demand that Snechkus be given the status of a city. This is necessary in order to get rid of the departmental pincers and to transfer real power into the hands of the local soviet. It is high time for Snechkus to have its own boss, who has a self-interestedness in the correct development of the infrastructure and in a careful attitude toward the environment, and who guards the interests of the citizens.

We support the movement's program requirement of recognizing the Lithuanian language as the state language, and we share the just aspiration of the Lithuanian nation for linguistic self-determination. But we also deem it necessary to define the same status for the Russian language. Both languages, that represent the

ethnic majorities of the population, must be completely equal, as is the situation in such multi-ethnic countries as Switzerland, Finland, Spain, Canada, etc.

We are convinced that nothing should be forced on citizens, including the mandatory study of a language, because we are proceeding toward a rule-of-law state. The problem must be resolved by other means that are more democratic.

In order to achieve true bilingualism in the republic, it is necessary to create socioeconomic and political self-interestedness in it. In this regard we propose the introduction, by legislative procedure, of the requirement that the knowledge of both languages is mandatory for the following categories of persons: workers in the services sphere, workers at state institutions, and administrators of enterprises, and party, trade-union, and other public organizations.

Paragraph 3 of Section V in the draft should be amended to include the words: "To develop a state program to provide for the adaptation of the migrants currently residing on the territory of the republic." The language instruction must be free and efficient. It is necessary to have courses with intensive methodology. In addition to language, it is necessary to provide for familiarization with the history, geography, culture, and traditions of the Lithuanian nation. It is necessary to make cardinal improvements in the system of Lithuanian language instruction in Russian schools.

We cannot fail to note that the movement which proclaims in its program that it is acting in the interests of, and carrying out the will of, all the citizens in the republic nevertheless, in specific formulations, suffers from a certain nationally limited view. The legal norms that are proposed for confirmation in the constitution are defined basically for the Lithuanian population, but with respect to the Russian-speaking and other population those norms are as yet declarative.

One cannot fail to take into consideration the fact that this kind of onesidedness inevitably leads to the conversion of rights into privileges and it does not promote the consolidation of all the republic's social forces in the struggle for perestroika. And yet it is precisely this, as we understand it, that is the movement's primary task.

We are in favor of the legal education of the citizens and we feel that it is necessary to publish in a massive printing run the texts of the international legal documents of the United Nations that have been ratified by the USSR, and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was adopted in Helsinki, as well as the Lithuanian Constitution that was in effect prior to 1940. We feel that certain paragraphs in the program require additional work and refinement. For example, paragraph 2 of Section II states: "The movement wages a struggle for an interrelationship between state and society in Lithuanian SSR

which would legally guarantee the actual equality of all the members of society and organizations, irrespective of the differences in political philosophy and ideology." We feel that that statement should be amended, to include the words "but excluding the propagandizing of war, fascism, racism, and national enmity."

Paragraph 3 of Section VIII states: "The right of private ownership also extended to producer goods." In and of itself, that thesis is acceptable, but standing behind it is the possibility that the owner can use hired manpower. Consequently, in this instance it is necessary to have a legal act that regulates the labor relations between the various sides.

As part of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, we set as our goal the providing of assistance in implementing the principles proclaimed by it, primarily in our own region. The organizing group has begun developing specific measures within the confines of the following programs: "Snechkus and Regional Cost Accountability," "City Status for Snechkus," "Interethnic Relations," and "Safety of IAES Operations."

And now a few words about the last-mentioned program. We understand that the factor that forms today's negative attitude toward the station on the part of the republic's population is the long silence, the secrecy until recent times about nuclear power engineering, and the entire dictatorial departmental policy of locating and building large-scale projects that are ecologically dangerous. There is only one thing that can dispel this distrust—broad glasnost and openness. Today information about the radiation situation around IAES is being published in the press. But does the population have any trust in this information? From conversations with people, it would seem that they do not. And this is understandable, inasmuch as the radiation monitoring remains, essentially speaking, the prerogative of the department. We propose creating, on the basis of the Snechkus External Dosimetry Laboratory, a scientific-research center of LiSSR Academy of Sciences to study the situation in the region with regard to radiation and the ecology. The center should be equipped with state-of-the-art measurement devices and methods, and should rest on the achievements of world experience.

A section for public monitoring of the safety conditions at the IAES will be created as part of the organizing group. We propose carrying out a comparative analysis of the nuclear safety standards that have been adopted at IAES and that are in effect in the European countries.

The chief condition for the station's safety is the personnel's proficiency level. At the present time a training unit is being created at the IAES. That unit must be provided with computer technology and other technology that have been produced abroad.

As of today, the standards governing the amount of personnel per unit of equipment are still low at IAES. But the conversion of the enterprise to the new conditions for paying for labor presupposes an additional reduction in the number of workers.

Today the average wages paid to the personnel come to 232 rubles. This is precisely the kind of evaluation that is made of the labor performed by people upon whom the safety of an entire region depends!

These are the problems that we would like to present to the public for their attention and for resolving which we would like to obtain real assistance.

SOVETSKAYA LITVA Summary of Letters
18000198d Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
21 Oct 88 p 3

[Article, signed "Letters and Mass Work Department," under rubric "Opinions on the Overall Program of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement": "From Yesterday's Mail"]

[Text] Every day the editorial office receives dozens of letters. Letters from labor collectives, individuals, workers and employees, retirees and housewives, Lithuanians and Russians, Jews and Poles, Ukrainians and Belarusians, representatives of all the nations living in the republic. Our readers express their opinion about perestroika, about the draft of the Sayudis Program, about the processes occurring currently in the republic, and about the items published in the newspaper that are linked with that processes. Some of these letters have already been published in our newspaper, but for a number of reasons we are simply unable to use a large number of them—the newspaper would not have any room left for throwing light on other important questions in the life of the republic. Therefore, without going into a thorough analysis of the letters to the editor that have been received most recently—although that analysis will definitely be made by the editorial office—we have decided to publicize only the most basic ideas expressed in our readers' letters, which ideas are linked with perestroika and with the draft of the program that the Sayudis congress will discuss.

"It was with a large amount of interest that I read several times the draft of the overall program of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement," V. Chernov writes from Shyaulyay. "The document was very seriously prepared, and largely reflects the interests and yearnings of the Lithuanian nation, but not only that nation. Individual principles emerge directly from the party's cardinal decisions on perestroika. However, such an important and truly historic document should require more time to become completely aware of it, to study it, and to discuss it in the collectives. One should not move too hastily in this matter, but should also think about the tremendous responsibility to the nation for the fates of the republic..." Then T. Chernov expounds his own remarks

with regard to the program. In particular, he suggests: "Paragraph 2 of Section II, after the words... 'political philosophy and ideology,' should be amended to include the words: 'The movement is at the same time incompatible with the ideology of nationalism, racism, or great-power chauvinism, and considers that ideology to be inimical to the interests and the democratic requirements in the Lithuanian republic.'"

Another organization that has expressed its comments and recommendations with regard to the program draft is the council of the military internationalists club of Vilnyusskiy Rayon, in whose name Comrades Shematovich, Vaydakovich, Alishauskas, and other council members wrote to us. While approving the program draft in general, they feel that its individual paragraphs require refinements, and certain ones require reconsideration. "We do not completely agree," they write, "and we feel that paragraph 9 of Part III of the program—the paragraph concerning the relation to service in the army—is unacceptable." They are also slightly concerned about the frequent repetition in the program of the words "nation" and "national." This is at least strange for a republic with a multinational population, and especially for the Vilnius area. It would have been more intelligent to use the word "people" more frequently.

Many letters written by readers who have expressed their opinion concerning the program draft contain ideas to the effect that much of what is contained in the program, whether voluntarily or unwillingly, promotes the unnecessary incitement of passions on national grounds, instead of doing anything in a real way to unite the entire nation of Soviet Lithuania in the struggle for the triumph of perestroika. "The time has certainly come not to have rallies, but to work," Comrades Butkus, Koslova, Shatalova, and other inhabitants of Snehkus write. "In other oblasts and regions of the country, large changes are actually under way, but in our republic of Lithuania one cannot sense any real work in perestroika." Essentially the same thing is mentioned in letters written by N. Gubachev, Kaunas; A. Kamyshan, Shyaulyay; K. Burdris, Shyaulyay; and other readers of ours.

The situation concerning interethnic republics in the republic is the topic that troubles our readers most.

"I am a Lithuanian by blood and by spirit," V. Miksha writes from Vilnius. "My ancestors were also Lithuanians. But I am ashamed to observe, and to be a witness of, the way in which certain people have artificially begun to inflate what they conceive to be the discord between the Russians and the Lithuanians, or the other nationalities and nations living in Lithuania. Because prior to this, everything went well. No one used to insult anyone else, and the culture and art that are national in form and socialistic in content flourished and continue to flourish in Lithuania as they never have before, although there were some spots during the period of the cult and stagnation. But those are things of the past. So why is all of this being blown out of proportions, and why are passions being

inflamed?" In conclusion he writes, "Only a genuinely humanitarian attitude toward one another and to all nations will lead us again to the mutual understanding that we used to have. Those are the cultivated relations that we have begun to lose as a result of the hullabaloo that has created, and as a result of the game of demagogic perestroika that is being played by the sorry examples of how to conduct a real perestroika and that is being directed into the wrong channels."

Other readers expressed similar thoughts in their letters.

Take, for example, the letter written by P. Shulman, Vilnius. "I have been living and working in Vilnius for 36 years. As an inventor and efficiency-improvement expert, I contributed to the republic's money box more than 600,000 rubles' worth of benefit from my efficiency-improvement suggestions that were introduced. But in the opinion of I. Repeykene, whose open letter was published in SOVETSKAYA LITVA, I am a 'perpetual guest' in the republic and I 'must know where I am, since a fish and a guest begin to smell bad on the third day.' I think that it is not proper for a Lithuanian intellectual, even in polemics with a newspaper, to use such phrases."

The authors of many letters sent to the editor's office touch upon various questions linked with the status of the Lithuanian language. Basically, all our readers understand the need for positive resolutions of this problem, and take a positive attitude toward giving Lithuanian the status of the republic's state language. The people are troubled by just one question: won't this lead to a certain infringement upon the rights of the inhabitants who speak other languages? Won't a person who is not fluent in Lithuanian encounter lack of understanding, or insults and crude treatment, in the stores, in the personal-services shops, in public transportation, and, finally, in state institutions? In this regard we have received a rather large number of suggestions and amendments to be made in the text of the decree issued by the Presidium of LiSSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "The Status of the Lithuanian Language." We shall quote only one of them, which, as it were, summarizes many of the proposals made by our readers.

The workers at the Klaypeda Maritime Fishing Port recommend including in paragraph 2 the following words: "The constitution of Lithuanian SSR guarantees the equal use of the Russian language in the activities of state and public agencies, the sphere of public education, culture, science, production, and other institutions and organizations as a means of interethnic communication among the nations on the entire territory of Lithuanian SSR."

Obviously, the letters to the editor are by no means exhausted by these letters. But, as one can see, it is precisely these questions that have been especially troubling our readers today.

Distorted TASS Report on LiSSR Supreme Soviet Session Protested

18000244 [Editorial Report] SOVETSKAYA LITVA on 20 Nov 88 carries a 100-word announcement protesting distortions in the TASS report on the session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, read on the 18 November "Vremya" television broadcast. The announcement states that ELTA [Lithuanian Telegraph Agency] demanded the withdrawal of the distorted report and TASS subsequently released an accurate report which was published in the 19 November PRAVDA.

Geographer Views Soviet Ecological Politics, Urges Regional Solutions

18300071a Novosibirsk EKONOMIKA I
ORGANIZATSIYA PROMYSHLENNOGO
PROIZVODSTVA in Russian No 8, Aug 88 pp 153-167

[Article by B.S. Khorev, doctor of geographical sciences, Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov: "Face to Face With Nature"]

[Text] It so happened that, of all the ecological problems which have become most acute, water-related problems have turned out to be the focus of public attention. There have been projects to redirect part of the flow of northern and Siberian rivers, inexcusable miscalculations regarding the Baykal, Sevan, and Karabogazgol, and arguments over other projects... And finally, as a result—there were the well-known party and governmental decisions regarding the redirection of part of the drainage and the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Radically Improving the Cause of Environmental Protection in the Country".

Public opinion has demonstrated its force in resolving the question of water rechanneling. It has demonstrated its force using a specific example—and gained strength.

Now the task is to see that the need for perestroika of our attitude toward nature (and this flow is part of the mighty current of reorganization of society) is perceived by all practical workers—from the industrial worker to the minister, and from the public health physician to the chairman of the city soviet.

The Controversy over the Rzhev Hydroelectric Facility and Perestroika (Based on the Experience of the State Expert Commission)

Today, the Gosplan commission of experts is more demanding toward the projects which it reviews, particularly from standpoint of ecology. Yet the project planners themselves and the departments or other administrative agencies which stand behind them still often present rather controversial, if not doubtful, proposals, and then stubbornly try to push them through. As yet, the serious analysis of national-economic priorities and alternative approaches in the development of certain engineering projects still does not receive sufficient attention.

Let us take, for example, the controversy surrounding the Rzhev hydroelectric facility on the Volga River. The author of this project was a member of the USSR Gosplan subcommission engaged in an expert evaluation of the hydraulic engineering system and the scheme of external sources of water supply to Moscow in the fall of 1986. Using the example of this expert investigation, we would like to formulate the question more broadly—of the responsibility of administrative organs for the solution of ecological problems, a question of the difficulties which perestroika encounters here in general and "perestroika facing nature" in particular.

The Rzhev project, in essence, is also a rechanneling scheme. We are speaking here of routing drinking water in the draught years from the upper Volga to the capital via the Moscow Canal system, roughly in a volume of up to 25 cubic meters per second by the year 1995. This has necessitated the construction of the new hydroelectric facility near Rzhev in Kalinin Oblast. (At the present time construction has been halted). The hydroelectrical importance of the facility is small, and its estimated cost is relatively low—within the limits of 230 million rubles.

In and of itself, the technical project for the hydroelectric facility is competently presented. It considers the demands of recent times, and the zone of flooding is not that large. However, the scheme of external sources of water supply to the capital on which the project is founded is based solely on new rechanneling, while questions of water conservation policy in the city are given no serious consideration. The project is oriented toward increasing the deficit of water resources in the city, and not toward limiting its growth. Alternatives to the Rzhev project were developed quite superficially, even in regard to the outside sources. These comprised the rechanneling of water from the Ivankovskiy, Uglich and Rybinsk water reservoirs on the Volga, and even the inter-basin resources—the Upper Msta and Lake Onega. In the case of re-routing from the Uglich and Rybinsk reservoirs, the Volga would at some point have to change the direction of its flow. Even such variants as, for example, deepening the bottom of the Ivankovskiy reservoir for the purpose of increasing its water volume capacity were not presented. (It is specifically from here that water is supplied to the capital along the Volga-Moscow hydraulic system). Nor was it suggested to build a water line from the Rybinsk reservoir to Moscow parallel to the Volga with outlet into the Moscow Canal. We might add that the latter variant, in our opinion, would have made it possible to cardinally resolve the problem of domestic water supply to the population for the long-term future.

The project for the Rzhev hydroelectric facility does not consider all the "compensatory expenditures" figured as compensation for certain losses (from flooding and especially the flooding of agricultural crops, the recreational base, watershed forests, deposits of local building materials, etc.). Also, the experience of previous hydraulic structures shows that in the initial estimated cost the

expenditures are underestimated by no less than one-third. Thus, we may assume that the Rzhev hydroelectric facility would cost around 300 million rubles.

Broad public opinion has spoken out against the construction of the hydroelectric facility. Moreover, the Rzhev rayon is a unique site in the history of the past war. This would be an ideal site for building a memorial complex to the Great Patriotic War, commemorating "The Rzhev springboard" (Rzhev line). The unique natural complex of the Upper Volga, the archeological, paleontological and historical monuments all make it expedient to create an Upper Volga National Park of union significance.

Yet this is not the main thing. The construction of the hydroelectric facility intended for supplying water to Moscow will by its very fact hinder the transition of the capital itself to intensive methods of water management, to water recycling, to water conservation in production and in domestic use, and will ultimately stimulate the growth of the city. Yet if alternative approaches were really developed, the entire so-called water shortage in the capital which is predicted for the period after 1995 could be avoided even without rechanneling water from the upper Volga.

At the present time, the overall daily per capita supply of water to the capital city exceeds 760 liters, including 450 liters for domestic-household needs. (The former indicator was 640 liters in 1970, 510 liters in 1960, and 326 liters in 1950). These are very high specific indicators which tell us that the water supply is clearly excessive and that the water is not being used economically. In Moscow there are around 160 operational systems for water re-use and recycling (this is for 1,000 enterprises!). Work is being performed on developing a system of industrial water lines, which will reduce the consumption of drinking water by industrial enterprises. The volume of recycled use of water comprised 2.7 billion cubic meters in 1976, 3.9 billion in 1980, and over 4.3 billion in 1985. In terms of specific expenditures, this is less than in other major cities throughout the country. According to the evaluation of the Institute of Economic Problems for the Integrated Development of Moscow's National Economy, the changeover of industrial enterprises to recycled water supply would make it possible to reduce their expenditure of drinking water by 30-40 percent.

In 1975 in the residential sector, the specific daily per capita water consumption was 317 liters, while in 1985 it was around 380. Yet, according to computations, with the highest degree of residential comfort one person requires no more than 250 liters per day, with a maximum of 280-300. Foreign experience also confirms this fact. About a third of the water which gets into our water supply networks is lost.

Nevertheless, the projects which are being studied by the experts show no serious attempts to search for intensive means of development. Unfortunately, the position of

the Moscow City Soviet representatives to the state expert commission was reduced, essentially, to one point: "We already have too many headaches from other problems, and you bring up water! At least you can rid us of this". Well then, let Moscow have a water reserve at the expense of the upper Volga. Many can make sacrifices for the sake of the capital. But is it for the sake of the capital or for the sake of those for whom perestroika is merely a burden and an inconvenience?

The comments of the experts were left unanswered. These comments were in regard to: excessive moistening of the soil in the zone of the city, as a result of which the annual losses comprise 100 million rubles due to corrosion of the networks; overestimation of norms of water consumption for Moscow for the future, although they are already now 50-70 percent higher than the scientifically substantiated ones; the need—after the lessons of Chernobyl—for increasing the number of underground springs, and a number of other problems. In essence, the main question has been ignored. That is, will we finally embark upon the path of intensification of water management and will we solve the problems of regions with a water shortage by this means, or will we again and again, squandering the resources which we have at hand in our race for new ones, drag the country into multi-billion ruble capital investments with negative consequences for other regions, freezing huge funds necessary for other purposes?

The aktiv participants of the city of Rzhev and its rayons had an entirely different approach to the problem. Let us present a concise record of their comments.

...A number of springs which feed the Volga with pure water will disappear.

...Shoals and steps at the headwaters where the water is enriched with oxygen will become flooded over. This will also hurt [water] quality. We know from the Vazuz that the amount of oxygen in a water reservoir is reduced by 20-30 percent at the depths. The river flows through limestone deposits, and leaching out will become intensified, as evident from the Vazuz. If in a dry year all this water is sent downstream, it is possible to kill all living things below the section line.

...Since the water in the reservoir will be stagnant, varieties of fish living in running water will disappear: grayling, aspius, and pike perch.

...Although in area Kalinin Oblast is almost the size of Hungary, it does not have that much fertile land. Yet 300,000 hectares have already been flooded over by 9 reservoirs.

...The Rybinsk reservoir is fed by rivers whose drainage exceeds that of the upper Volga. Why not get the supply from there?

...We must save our national treasure, the pride of our country and our kray—the upper Volga with its only remaining unregulated section of 200-250 km.

...We must conduct the discussion about the Volga on a national scale. Why are we doing to our land that for which our descendants will not forgive us!?

The reader has the right to judge for himself where a state approach is truly manifested, and where there is only the appearance of an approach, and that is all.

Do We Need a "Reorganization of Nature"?

The conceptions of "reorganizing" nature are refuted from time to time, and then again re-animated. Let us try to take a critical approach from these positions toward certain ideas presented by our futurologist-specialists. We are speaking of the notion of "reconstructing the earth's surface". [1] These reconstruction projects are understood as large-scale nature-transformation projects: the dams of the GES and the cascades of the water reservoirs will play a major role in the "reconstruction of the land". Structures such as the Leningrad dam (under construction) and the 436-kilometer long canal between the Danube and the Dnieper with coverage of the Dnieper-Bug estuary by a 7-kilometer dam along the shallows (planned) will serve for "reconstruction of the sea". If we speak directly, we must say that all large-scale nature-transformation projects are defended under the flag of being necessary for "reconstruction of the earth's surface": from the cascades of reservoirs on our northern valley rivers to the "projects for comprehensive reconstruction of entire continents", where the "real projects" are proclaimed as projects for rechanneling waters from north to south.

What other projects for the transformation of nature await us aside from those which we have mentioned? These are projects for transforming the White Sea and Sea of Azov into fresh-water reservoirs, a project for the reconstruction of the Black Sea by building a dam at the Dardanelles and a 400-kilometer dam on the shoals along the northern coast shore between the mouth of the Danube and the Perekop Isthmus in Crimea... There is a project for the reconstruction of the Caspian Sea by building a dam along the shoals separating the northern part of this sea from the deeper southern part. Part of this project has already been realized. That is the building of a dam at Karabogazgol Bay, where a huge amount of water from the Caspian is sucked in and evaporates. It is true, admits I. B. Bestuzhev-Lada, that later it was necessary to make special sluice gates in the dam in order to regulate the influx of a given amount of water into the bay. Otherwise the bay would turn into a huge salt desert and the enterprises of the chemical industry operating on the saturated saline solution of the Karabogazgol waters would be deprived of their raw material. A slight correction on Karabogazgol in essence negates all of these projects: could it be that we have learned nothing from this experience?

We get the impression that in many of the large institutes within the Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] and Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] system, many are concerned exclusively with looking at a map of the country and surmising: where can we dam something off, and where can we connect it? How can we correct various "shortcomings" in the natural environment?

With such an approach everything is turned upside down. First the project ideas are presented, the projects are developed, and then the "national-economic substantiation" is tailored to them. Then, great efforts are required in order to turn down or at least put a freeze on these projects.

This is why, we believe, a scientific economic-geographical approach to the resolution of questions of "reconstruction of nature" is so necessary. The essence of this approach is as follows. Based on the conception of all-union growth of the economy for the long-range future, the general and regional schemes for development and location of production capacities analyze the application of resources by regions, establish project indicators for their application by different variants of economic growth, and determine their excesses or shortages. Having identified a shortage, it is necessary first of all to examine the possibilities for compensation (conservation, changeover to new technologies, etc.), and only then to think about getting resources from outside, about their inter-regional redistribution, regardless of whether these are labor resources or river flow.

If a shortage really does exist, the very conception of the region's development may also change. Thus, for example, if in Central Asia and Southern Kazakhstan there is a shortage of water, could the reason for this be the one-sided orientation toward cotton raising in agriculture, which requires huge volumes of irrigation water?

The main thing is that the level of our knowledge about natural-geographical processes still does not allow us to opt for large-scale intervention in their course. Modern technology is able to accomplish much, and the temptation is very great to re-do something, to correct the "shortcomings" in the natural environment. Yet in doing so we have a poor understanding of the entire chain of possible consequences. The result may be expressed in irreversible elemental processes which are ruinous to the natural systems. Finally, an insufficiently substantiated project, even if it gives some effect, most often temporary, in one sphere, may prove to be destructive in others.

Of course, the need may arise for new irrigation channels and new water reservoirs, but only with the most extreme national-economic need and in the absence of alternatives.

The Need for Principle Decisions

Without a radical reorganization in the solution of water, natural resource, and other problems of ecological importance, there cannot be a rational or well supplied economy.

Among the numerous unfulfilled and even forgotten government resolutions there is a 20-year old decision regarding the development of projects for standard waste-free production by the ministries for each of the sectors. Yet new sectorial technologies are only the beginning. It is time to utilize the concept of forming territorial-production complexes (TPC) which was been presented in the Soviet geographical and economic literature, as well as the experience of practical realization of this concept for the scientific development of regional waste-free production on the basis of TPC by means of integrating types of production with various by-products into the ecological-economic complexes. This would provide a cardinal solution to the problem.

Today much is written about water management projects, and this is as it should be. However, let us create at least one city with waste-free and drainage-free production—on the order of an experiment, as a standard! Then those same rechanneling schemes against which we are fighting would fade into the background.

If we admit that the economy is "best without rechanneling", then the "best of economies" is the limitation of growth of large cities. Unfavorable ecological consequences, as a rule, are directly dependent on the territorial concentration of industrial capacities. A high population density in and of itself significantly affects the natural environment. However, it is not the masses of people themselves which have the most negative effect on it, but rather the industrial, power, transport, and other facilities. We might add that their greatest concentration is characteristic specifically for the largest urban agglomerations. After all, nature may not be able to withstand excessive specific industrial and population loads. All the systems of the largest agglomeration and megalopolis begin to operate with extreme overload. More and more often such situations arise which may be evaluated only as extreme, as for example the problems of Moscow.

Urbanism and Ecology

Evidently, under current civilization, any settlement, even a very small one, can and must have current improvements, i.e., be at the level of the urban type. Just as evident for the best conditions of development of man, his labor and leisure, is the need to reduce the harmful mental and physiological load and to provide the best possible access to nature for all the people. Yet in a large center only a small portion of the population possesses the best housing conditions, is able to go out into the lap of nature, and is able to make use of personal

transport and the basic advantages of a large city. The other, overwhelming, portion experiences all its negative aspects—from internal stresses to toxic and bacterial effects of the environment.

Unlimited urbanization leads, on one hand, to social differentiation, and on the other—to a biological degradation of people to the detriment of the potential capacities of future generations. It reduces the cultural level and the creative life of the people within the giant super-cities as well as far removed from them. According to the evaluation of a well-known Yugoslavian specialist, Professor N. Tsarich, "the megalopolis is the worst and most destructive phenomena by which the population can be oppressed in peacetime". [2] At the same time, the tendency to gravitate toward large cities due to the domestic conditions and the possibility of selecting work is elementally causing an increased migration of the population influenced by personal interests. It is possible to get out of this situation only by means of better planning of industry, better food supply, better development of transport, and better social planning.

Therefore our country must scientifically substantiate the scope of large cities, the distribution of the population in the country, and the removal of industrial plants away from residential centers to a greater degree than is done in other developed countries which have a different social system. The modern-day city super-giants have long ago surpassed the boundaries of prudence.

Ecological Policy at the New Stage

The concept of ecological policy has been developed quite recently in Soviet literature. This is a policy of society directed at the protection and enhancement of the natural environment and the rational application and replenishment of natural resources. This concept was formulated from the standpoint of the need for achieving a dynamic stability of man's environment.

In speaking of the primary directions of this policy, it is necessary, in our opinion, to first of all isolate special (sectorial) and integral directions. Special directions are developed within the framework of specific scientific disciplines and even state institutions for the protection, preservation and replenishment of resources of the earth, water, forest, soil, the plant and animal world, monuments of architecture and nature, atmospheric air, and land—all that which we may call the elements of the environment. The integral directions of ecological policy are much more difficult to isolate. Yet it is specifically these which are called upon to play the decisive role in protecting the health of the people and the environment as a whole.

Why are the adopted decisions on environmental protection not being implemented? We have spent many years in a state of euphoria. We believed that socialism as a social order, unlike capitalism where private ownership and striving for profits exist, creates maximally

favorable conditions for environmental protection. Today it is becoming clear that these advantages do not give an automatic effect, that the adopted decisions are being "torpedoed", and in many cities and even regions it is dangerous for man to live. The ecological situation is very complex, and this has been proclaimed in full voice in the recent party and government documents.

What can we do?

We suggest that the set of measures in this plane be more continually implemented: legal, economic, organizational, planning-scientific, and educational measures, as provided in the above-mentioned resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers. The time has come to adopt the strictest laws which would curb the unwarranted appetites of departments, which would allow us to hold these departments under the strictest control, and which would protect the environment. These departments must answer not only to various state inspections, but also to individual citizens and citizen groups if a loss has been inflicted on the environment due to illegal actions.

At the same time, no measures of intimidation will yield an effect if they are not substantiated by decisions in other spheres, and primarily in the economic. The economy must become "ecological". Since the existing economic relations still do not interest industrial and agricultural enterprises, construction sites, and transport organizations in environmental protection measures and in the comprehensive application of raw materials and the utilization of industrial by-products, we must consider the creation of an effective economic mechanism for rational environmental use and protection to be the number one priority task in this sphere, and step up scientific developments in this direction.

It is time to prepare a general methodology for evaluating the loss inflicted upon the national economy and the environment in the implementation of certain projects, taking into consideration the total expenditures, not only actual, but also directed, in the restoration of the lost resources and values. The amounts of the inflicted loss are usually underestimated by planners, and they are extremely stingy when it comes to environmental protection measures, calculating the expenditures for them in several percentage points and even in portions of percents of the overall sum of expenditures for the project. (Yet experience has shown that these expenditures reach sums of tens of percentage points).

It is important to view a certain region as an integral whole, to plan its integrated development, and to implement integrated management. This is a very important, pressing, but as yet unsolved problem in our society. A narrow bureaucratic approach is ruinous, yet it may be overcome only with the transition to a new regional-sectorial system of economic management in the country. The ecological danger is one more "trump card" in

favor of this system. In any case, we need anti-departmental "counterweights"—within the framework of the state system of administrative organs (Goskomprirody) [State Committee for Nature], as well as outside of it, in the form of strong public organizations and their spokesmen. In our opinion, the environmental protection societies do not as yet serve as such "counterweights", while the enthusiasts in the environmental protection movement are more often grouped outside the framework of these societies. Yet they could be united into a new social organization such as the All-Union Ecology Movement, which could have its own plan of action projected, for example, for about a 10 year period, and its own press organ—a mass circulation "Ecology Gazette".

The creation and active work of such an organization would intensify control over the work of the departments in a primary and vitally important sphere of our common existence. The system of counterweight organs is necessary in a democratically developed socialist society. It also signifies the strengthening of democratism in the country. In general, we cannot do without new social institutions of such a plan, of which, we might add, the Constitutional Court is one.

We also need a cadastre of the most valuable environmental protection objects on the territory of the country—a sort of "red book" for the near future. For particularly valuable territories (Baykal, Gornyy Altay) we should provide the status of "natural reserves of the planet" and include them in the list of objects of natural and cultural heritage of mankind which is being compiled under the aegis of UNESCO.

Particular attention should be given to protecting the environment of the vulnerable northern and mountain territories. This is one of the important directions of scientific work. It is time to improve the entire matter of planning in the country, including the expansion of landscape and cartographic provision of projects, their inclusion in the make-up of geographic prognosis, and the evaluation of changes in natural-territorial complexes.

In order to improve state expert appraisals of projects, we should formulate councils on expert appraisals under the sections of the USSR Academy of Sciences (with definition of the head institutes). These would be assigned by the organs of the state expert commission to conduct independent extra-departmental analyses of large projects and to perform expert appraisals of the project ideas. It would also be expedient to hold preliminary ecological-geographical public discussions of major national-economic projects which have a strong impact on the natural environment. These may be held, for example, in the form of interdepartmental conferences on the problem, similar to that which was held by the Altay branch of the USSR Geographical Society and the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Section Institute of Geography regarding the project for utilization of the water resources of the Katunya River.

What organization could specifically concentrate in its hands the entire development and realization of the territorial integrated schemes for environmental protection (TerKSOP)? For the present this is being developed within the system of Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction Affairs] and Gosgrazhdanstroy [State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture], and there is no control over its implementation. There is also no all-union conception of environmental protection and rational application of nature. It is true that ideas have been presented for the development of an Ecological Program for the country and a General Scheme for environmental protection. It is specifically within this general scheme that the rayons and areas with especially complex and dangerous ecological situations may be defined, and in which territorial integrated schemes for environmental protection should be developed. As yet they are being developed either in the old industrial and highly urbanized regions (Moscow, Leningrad, Estonia), or in the newly assimilated territories. It is time to make clear the fact that the task of environmental protection may be most effectively resolved only in the process of location of production, its rational territorial organization, and its technological reorganization, as well as in the process of designing and planning the growth of cities and settlements. We need territorial schemes, but all the basic developments can and, we believe, must be performed within the framework of designing and planning the optimization of man's living environment as a whole.

This is confirmed by the recently and urgently developed schemes for environmental protection in the zones of the newly built transport facilities of Siberia and the North. Here they not only designed, but built quite a lot. Nature, however, is in a sorry state. We must protect nature primarily in the process of construction, in the process of activity in general, and not afterwards. That is the essence of the problem. Yet, alas, today's schemes are still oriented specifically toward the "after-the-fact" approach.

In order to strengthen the interrelation of the territorial integrated schemes for environmental protection with integrated regional planning of the territories, it is necessary to carefully study the experience of the Belorussian SSR, where the country's first General Scheme for integrated territorial organization of a region is being developed at the republic level on the basis of an analysis of the triunity of "nature—population—production", in which the questions of optimization of the ecological situation have found full-fledged reflection. If such schemes were developed everywhere, there would be no need for TerKSOPs.

The following problems require scientific developments based on new principle decisions: "ecologically pure energetics", "ecologically pure transport", "waste-free daily life" (at the level of the farmstead, the microrayon, or the settlement). This direction is currently receiving ever increasing attention throughout the entire world.

Evidently, solutions other than those under the slogan of "back to patriarchal everyday life" will be found, although this does not exclude the return to small-scale energetics, transport (the horse, the bicycle), or the farmstead with closed ecosystem wherever this is possible... In essence, ecologically pure forms of transport and everyday life remain at our side.

In practice, we have not yet begun developing measures for the anti-chemical protection of nature. This question is becoming more acute with each passing day.

We are on the threshold of a transition to a new stage in the scientific recognition of the problematics of all mankind—the development of the theory and applied aspects of ecological organization of the life of society as a whole, and the territorial and applied basics of balanced dynamic development of the system "man—environment". The solution of ecological problems and the reorganization of our common house based on the principles of ecological safety will become the priority.

The attitude toward the environment and environmental protection also demonstrates the general effectiveness of the work of the main administrative organs in the region. A positive example is the experience of Lithuania, where much attention has been given to the cause of environmental protection. For example, in designating the site for an oil refinery, the republic decisively opposed its construction on the Neman River, and it was moved to an infertile area in the north, to Mezheykyay. Plans for the industrialization of the city of Kretingi near the resort area of Palanga were also rejected. Lithuania has now become one of country's leaders in the level of its social development.

Thus, the basic moments in environmental protection consist of improving and enforcing environmental protection legislation, creating an effective economic mechanism for rational use of natural resources and protection of the environment, and changing over to the conception of ecological organization of society as a whole. One other factor is the level of the individual—instilling in each person a civic responsibility for environmental protection. Perhaps we should think about a special economic fund (or an environmental protection fund) to which people could send funds for a special purpose, as for example the protection of Lake Baykal. After all, there are plans to create a fund for the development of public health. Naturally, the fund will not solve all the problems of environmental protection. However, it may become a financial help in the period of developing environmental protection legislation and creating an effective economic mechanism for protecting nature. This fact may also intensify the demands placed by the people on the administrative organs responsible for implementation of ecological policy.

Footnotes

1. Cf., for example: Bestuzhev-Lada, I. V. Reconstruction of the Earth's Surface. NAUKA I ZHIZN, 1984, No 2; Ibid. "The World of Our Tomorrow", M., 1986.

2. Tsarich, N. Process of Urbanization and the Social System. *IZVESTIYA VSESOYUZNOGO GEOGRAFICHESKOGO OBRASHCHENIYA*, 1986, Vol 118, No 6, p 544.

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Scientists Warn of Potential Ecological Disaster in Tyumen Oil, Gas Fields
18300071b Novosibirsk EKONOMIKA I ORGANIZATSIIA PROMYSHLENNOGO PROIZVODSTVA in Russian No 8, Aug 88 pp 167-176

[Article by V.P. Tsarev, doctor of geological-mineralogical sciences, and R.P. Povileiko, candidate in technical sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Section Institute on Problems of Developing the North: "A Prediction for Tomorrow: To Avoid Catastrophe"]

[Text] What can happen in the next few years in all of oil-and gas-bearing Tyumen if we do not turn our attention to minor but alarming events which have already occurred, and continue to ignore scientific predictions.

Not To Repeat the Mistakes of the BAM

Recently a group of specialists visited the BAM to study the deformations of buildings and to determine the reasons for them. The photographs taken by the leader of the group, Doctor of Geographical Sciences I. A. Nekrasov were literally astounding: railroad stations falling apart into three sections, crack-ridden walls, lakes inside of houses, deteriorating heating networks and buildings reinforced with metallic straps.

Construction was done here without any regard for the permafrost—as if it did not exist. The result has been pilings “hanging” in the thawing soil, deteriorating structures, abandoned and boarded-up houses. What is this—something new for science and practical application? No, all these phenomena of deformation were described by Russian engineers 100 years ago, and even in these very same places. The buildings are new, but the mistakes are old. It is as if permafrost, which covers 40 percent of our country’s territory, did not and does not exist. It is as if there is no science of building on permafrost—engineering geocryology. It is as if there are no specialists in permafrost study and no authoritative Institute on Permafrost Study under the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Section in Yakutsk. This is an amazing ignorance of permafrost conditions!

Yet how can we gain a knowledge of permafrost if neither the builders nor the railroad engineers have any permafrost management services, and do not foresee having any. And now this misfortune with the builders has come to our Tyumen north. Expensive high-voltage compressor stations on the Medvezhiy oil fields have begun to fall apart.

At first the losses here were evaluated at 2 million rubles, and then the discussion was already about 170 million. Five reprimands were issued, each at a “cost” of 34 million rubles. The seekers of truth were forced out to other places of work, and the matter was supposedly closed. The summary directives and subsequent explanations contained many words. Yet the main thing was absent—would there be a service for the prophylaxis and prevention of similar catastrophes?

Today, on the threshold of the year 2000, we are going into the Arctic zone of our country for oil and gas. For Tyumen this is primarily an assimilation of the rich oil and gas-bearing fields of Yamal. Oil, gas and other natural riches here are guarded by a very thick but very vulnerable shield of permafrost. Well, are we to repeat the mistakes of the BAM here too?

It is sad too that even on the BAM these errors (whose force of manifestation will continue to grow and grow) could have been prevented through engineering. Only 6 years ago, when the construction of the BAM was in full swing, I. A. Nekrasov warned that a catastrophic situation would arise for the permafrost of the BAM. “Thus, a layer with thickness of 10-15 m will thaw out in the BAM zone. In the northernmost regions and high mountain elevations the thawing will be less severe, but there too the seasonal thaw will increase by 0.5-1.0 m, which will lead to widespread ravine formation and disintegration of the surface structure. Thus, conditions will be formed in which the stable existence of all structures built on the principle of retaining a foundation of many years of permafrost buildup, will become impossible. However, since this is the basic principle on which all the population centers and industrial facilities, as well as all the line structures, are built, and their fate evokes the greatest concern”. It is sad, isn’t it?!

A Dangerous Warming Trend Ahead

The permafrost in our country is non-uniform. In the North and in the foothills of Eastern Siberia it pierces the earth to a depth of up to 500-1000 m in some places. To the south it thins down to a crust on the surface and begins to be found in small islets and patches. Permafrost whose temperature is close to the critical melting point of 0 degrees C or lower than -1.0 degrees C, has a specific name—“weak” permafrost. It is extremely unstable, and the slightest influx of heat due to the imprudent interference of man is enough to cause it to melt, ooze, and turn into an earthly abyss. Buildings and structures built on this “impermanent” permafrost fall apart along with the foundation.

So, in Tyumen Oblast there is a rather broad, almost 500 km wide, strip of this “weak” permafrost running from west to east. Almost all of the large operating oil and gas extraction sites and new cities are located here. The people here work calmly, complaining about the mosquitos and the frosts, unaware that danger is menacing them, enveloping them unnoticed. What is this danger?

Scientists from Moscow and Tyumen have completed the development of a model for predicting the climate and soil temperature conditions in the northern part of Western Siberia. They maintain with sufficient justification that in the next 3-5 years the age-old stage of cooling in the north of Tyumen oblast will be concluded and that a warming trend will begin which will last until 2020-2025. The average annual temperature will increase by no more than 0.5-1.0 degrees C, which is insignificant for the northern and southern margins of the oblast. However, for the regions of "weak" permafrost with deposits of "warm" ice this warming trend may be expressed with specific, as yet unpredictable force. Intensive thawing of the hardened ground will begin, and this thawing will move toward the oil- and gas-bearing North at a rate of 40-50 km per year. Then, in time, by the middle of the next century, everything will return "to its rounds", but how much loss there will be in that time!

Unfortunately, a significant portion of the oil and gas extracting enterprises, most of the operating pipeline sections, and many recently built large industrial centers fall specifically within this dangerous zone. In the warming period the level of permafrost will decline in various natural conditions, including also in peat bogs. Scientific associates from MGU [Moscow State University] and the Tyumen SibNIIIS have calculated that the soil temperature of Urengoy at a depth of 10 m will increase by 0.5 degrees C. This will lead to a general thawing of the light sandy soils to this depth, particularly in the southern portion of the deposit. The thawed soil will settle, which will lead primarily to the deformation of numerous buildings and structures. Especially strong settling is expected in the peat bogs, and in veins of ice disrupted by the intervention of man.

In all probability, in constructing main pipelines and inter-field collectors built in regions where soils have been permanently frozen for many years, it will be necessary to review the technology of laying such facilities, at least south of the line marked by Shchuchye-Yar-Sale-Nyda-Samburg. In the warm period of the year, the railroad bed in the Tarko-Sale-Urengoy-Farafontyevskaya will experience great instability. Of course, there is some probability that the prediction model will not come to pass. However, total disregard for this information may lead to a regional catastrophe.

Provoked Earthquakes

Let us perform this simple test before your very eyes. In a transparent but strong glass let us press a frozen sponge filled with air and water between two pistons. Airtightness is a must—as it is in nature. It is in just this way that nature preserves oil and gas for us in the shallow depths of the earth—up to 2-3 km or more. We are beginning to take them for our needs—to suck off the liquid and gas through thin capillary openings. The pressure in the depths declines, but the structure, its skeletal frame, still holds up the heavy upper layer of soil. But then the ultimate strength is exceeded. There is

a sudden crack—and the sponge is flattened into a thin disk. The rock-piston from above has dropped. There is an impact, and a shock wave passes over the surface. The house of cards made of paper and matchsticks has fallen apart on its exposed surface. All this is like it is in nature, in the life of Tyumen today.

Recently the residents living in the upper stories of wood-frame houses in Nefteyugansk have begun to notice a smooth rocking, accompanied by a slight rattling of windows. Could it be from the KRAZ trucks passing by on the nearby street? However, when cracks were found in the foundation slabs of one of 19 houses, it became clear that this is no joke. A machine really was at fault—the vibrating machine for installing the shore-protective piling wall some distance from the houses. The time of its operation coincided with the "household" earthquakes. Associates at the West Siberian Scientific-Research Geological Survey Institute (ZapSibNIGNI) decided to look into explaining the seismic situation which was arising, and here is what they found.

In terms of seismic activity, the region of Nefteyugansk, as well as all of Western Siberia, is a calm, seismically passive and safe zone which is not distinguished by earthquakes. Yet this has been true only up until recently. Then suddenly earthquakes began to occur here. In Nefteyugansk there were multi-focal 3-4 point earthquakes along the banks of the southern Ob (within a radius of 1,000-1,200 m). And man himself is responsible for this!!! The director of the ZapSibNIGNI, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and winner of the Lenin Prize I. I. Nekrasov and his scientific associate A. Reznik came to this conclusion after studying the materials. The movement of large masses of dirt in the course of grading the city, the extraction of underground fresh water and oil, and finally the vibration from the installation of grooved piles—all this activity demanded inevitable reaction from nature in the form of minor earthquakes.

We might add that it was specifically here, in Nefteyugansk, that 8 years ago due to degradation of the permafrost and subsequent rupture of pipes, thermal waters penetrated into the water-bearing soil, altering the composition of fresh water and increasing its temperature. A trifle?! Already 3-4 years ago the incidences of rupture of operational pipelines became much more frequent. Wells began to go out of order 1.5 times more often and quicker. And when water was no longer pumped into the productive strata to maintain the stratal pressure (in oil extraction), the situation became even more complex and indeterminate. We may fully expect that in the next 5-10 years (and maybe even sooner) the settling of the ground surface and its trembling will become a dangerous norm.

In any case, all this is the result of the "wild" assimilation of the nether regions of Tyumen for decades, without consideration or prognosis of the ecological

situation. About 20 years ago scientists predicted the onset of a period of small, and then large catastrophes. They spoke then about the upcoming 15-20 years, calling them a critical time. And now these years have passed. Earthquakes provoked by man's activity have begun. This critical time is approaching.

A Matter of Life and Death

Monitoring is a new concept which came into general use in recent years, and which is therefore not explained in numerous reference works and dictionaries. Monitoring is the constant and regular observation of a rapidly changing situation for the purpose of obtaining reliable information which would make it possible to substantiate and make important decisions. The forms of monitoring may stem from utilized methods and observed objects. Thus, the methods of aerospace monitoring have become widespread. Yet in terms of objects, monitoring may be engineering-geological, geocryological (observation of permafrost), ecological (environmental protection of the North), and seismological.

A vast amount of geological material has been collected in Tyumen in the past 30 years. In some institutes there are literally drifts of it. At one time it was used for evaluating the situation and making effective decisions, but then it was forgotten. Today the time has come to return to it, to generalize and process it on a unified basis, and to create a data bank. In recent years we have often encountered erroneous decisions. Funds numbering in the millions have been allocated at the highest level for research which was long ago performed by someone else nearby, but remained "in-house". It is necessary and technically feasible to create a bank of oil and gas data on Tyumen based on the material which we already have. After all, the Americans were recently able to create an experimental data bank on the north slope of Alaska comprised of 10 large masses. They covered around 100,000 points of the slope and utilized over 1,000 wells. The entire data bank with models of survey and mining technology is constantly being developed, supplemented, and renovated (for the most part due to telemetrically obtained data directly from the wells). This allows the Americans to effectively plan the methods and prospective studies for purposes of assimilating traditional as well as non-traditional reserves of the hydrocarbon material. In essence, this is well-organized monitoring.

For domestic oil and gas extraction, monitoring is not any great news. Thus, the USSR Ministry of Geology has planned the all-union program "Litmonitoring SSSR" for the period 1986-1990. Knowing that "lithos" is rock, we may assume that it will cover the entire land portion of our country and its coastal area. However, the main thing is not the monitoring service itself (which will require several tens of millions of rubles to create), but rather the objects toward which it will primarily be directed. We are speaking of the stages of monitoring, among which seismological monitoring stands out in first place.

Primarily in Tyumen we must set up seismic monitoring stations—outposts with telemetric apparatus for observing the state of the earth's nether regions. These outposts must be located in the centers of large oil and gas deposits, in the cities and large work-duty settlements directly adjoining them, in the major oil-pumping structures (such as the expensive compressor stations), etc. Seismic monitoring is a matter of life and death importance for the oil and gas bearing Tyumen. It must bar the way to catastrophic changes, and the sooner the better.

A Catastrophe Prevention Service

Intensive extraction of oil and gas from the depths of the earth without full compensation of the "hollows" inevitably takes these nether regions out of their state of age-old calm, and already after the first 10-15 years of extraction the growing situation of instability makes itself known. The depths groan and crack, they press out and in, they push out pilings and columns, they tilt buildings. They make themselves known by collapses of the surface, at first small, and then catastrophic. Should we wait for a catastrophe? We must prevent catastrophes! We should not wait until the pressure in the depths drops by 50-70 atmospheres. Rather, having determined a decline by 10-15 atmospheres, we must remove the pressure, provoking nature to minor earthquakes so as not to allow a major catastrophe. How? Very simply—with explosions.

Tyumen needs a small but very dynamic and active service for preventing technogenic catastrophes. Its creation requires a paltry sum—thousandths, maybe hundredths of a percent of those large capital investments which are spent here for the preparation and assimilation of the deposits. We would need a theoretical nucleus of 25-30 people with good seismic apparatus. And also—we would need a squadron of bombers with low flight ceiling and precise bombing techniques. The specialists would identify the dangerous geological points and compile a schedule. The pilots could then fly, train, and drop their bombs. Oil deposits are exploited primarily in unpopulated areas. Therefore, bombing would be safe. How does this sound? Civilian bombing?

Of course, the geological picture is not as simple as we have depicted it here, and the organization of a preventative service in such a huge and complex region as Tyumen would entail numerous complexities at all stages of its formulation. Yet its creation is necessary. We need the service for preventing technogenic catastrophes not tomorrow, but already today.

We Do Not Have The Right To Self-Deception

What is this conversation getting to? Here is what...

Let us take a geological map of Siberia and examine closely the foundation of the West Siberian shelf. For the most part, it coincides with the boundaries of the huge

Tyumen oblast. We see: Surgut, Nefteyugansk, Nizhnevartovsk, Samburg, Yamburg, Tarko-Sale, Tazovskoye, and Urengoy. All of them are located on rifts. Rifts are deep-seated transcontinental faults which separate the continents from within. In a geological plane, these faults are very productive for mankind, since many mineral deposits gravitate toward them, coming out of the depths of the earth. And, of course, there are large outcroppings of oil and gas.

Yes, Western Siberia on the whole is a seismically quiet zone. However, if earth movement begins to develop here, it will first be reflected in these gigantic fissures—rifts, and along their edges. It is specifically here that we extract oil and gas. But it is specifically here too, in the most seismically dangerous region, that we give rise to imbalance, developing and augmenting it. What will this lead to? It will lead to the first, barely audible, technogenic (engendered by man's technical activity) earthquakes. And then what?

Until the liquid and gas are removed, the rock masses are in equilibrium. We pump off oil and compensate for it with water, although not completely. It is technically difficult to force water into the ever more depleted underground pores so as to restore the initial pressure. The situation with gas is even more difficult than with oil. Attempts are at least made to replace the oil with something, but the gas is simply extracted from the earth without any compensation. Nature is insulted, goes out of equilibrium, and with its trembling begins to destroy what man has built on the surface and in the depths. The number and scope of technical emergencies is increasing, especially in the vulnerable permafrost. All kinds of vibrations, which neither construction nor extraction can do without, sharply exacerbate the situation.

Almetyevsk in Tataria has been shaking for several years. The surface of Shebelinka in the Ukraine is dropping by 0.5 m. The capital of Mexico has been pumping badly needed fresh water out from under itself for almost a century, and has settled by 4-5 m, and in some places even by 8-10 m. And, quite recently, there was a very strong earthquake with grave consequences. We have apparently not drawn the conclusion from this. Yet in our country there was the catastrophic and complete destruction of the Gazli oil settlement in Central Asia. Superimposed over the natural jolt of 5-6 points here were the technogenic 3-4 points, and then there was a 9-point tempest which levelled everything.

And so here is the "first bell" which has tolled in the Tyumen north—the Medvezhye deposit and the city of Nefteyugansk. Science must thoroughly look into them, and this must be done as soon as possible. After all, the most frightening lies ahead. The force of an earth jolt is proportional to the size of its center. Medvezhye by its surface dimensions is 5-6 times larger than Gazli, and in a 10 year period the pressure in its strata has dropped by one-half. The deposit in Urengoy is even larger, and its pressure is also rapidly dropping. The giant Yamburg

will be next. And in all these places there is weak rock and shallow depths of deposit measuring 1000-1300 m. Something has got to give here...

Medvezhye, Urengoy, Yamburg: the disablement of any of these three deposits for even a short time will have serious consequences for the country as a whole. The loss here would be unimaginable. What about the disruption in the power balance of the country? A series of earth jolts could in 20 seconds disable the capacities for production of over 200 billion cubic meters of gas. This is something that we not only do not want to calculate or imagine, but even to suppose. Yet after Chernobyl we do not have the right to complacent self-deception.

Enough of Learning from Mistakes!

Seismic activity is bad. Permafrost is very bad. Permafrost plus seismic activity forces us to stop and think. Even a mild earthquake under permafrost conditions exaggerates the consequences by 10, 100, 1000 times. And what if this permafrost is "weak"? And what if this permafrost has thawed through, has been and gone?! Let others learn from mistakes. Tyumen is a case where we do not have the right to make mistakes. We must prevent mistakes. The facts which are taking place are so serious that we cannot reject them. We need the help of science. We need an analysis which will give us a precise answer, and which will help us to draw conclusions for the future.

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Citizens Demand Action After Angarsk Smog Causes Widespread Illnesses 18300129a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent G. Sapronov, Angarsk, Irkutsk Oblast, under rubric "Conflict Situation": "Mark of Misfortune: Who Will Remove It from Angarsk?"]

[Text] The atmospheric calm, having brought to the inhabitants of Angarsk a rather large number of misfortunes, has now obeyed the natural law and been replaced by a sharp wind. Within a few hours its powerful bitter cold blasts that already had a winter feel blew away the smog over the city.

During those same days the meek calm of the human everyday life of the city dwellers, following the natural unity surrounding a disaster, was replaced by a powerful wave of indignation. Last Sunday hundreds of Angarsk citizens gathered in the city's central square. People came with slogans: "Stop the departmental arbitrariness!", "The BVK [protein-vitamin concentrates] plant is a delayed-action bomb," "We demand that Angarsk be declared an ecological disaster zone!"

Exactly what had happened?

On 22 October the person on duty at the party's Angarsk Gorkom received a telephone call from the first aid station and given a report about a "strange" situation: over the past four days the city had had a sharp increase in the number of citizens complaining of sudden aggrations of asthma and of other bronchial illnesses. By that time 213 such complaints had already been recorded, and some of the people had to be urgently hospitalized. During the next 24-hour period 222 more persons went to the first aid station.

I will state immediately that the party, soviet, and economic workers, and the physicians, scientists, and managers in public health, began working in the best manner in this dramatic situation. That very day, a city headquarters was created, and it assumed all the complexities of the emergency situation. Ye. Belyayev, RSFSR deputy chief state sanitation physician, flew to Angarsk as part of a commission of specialists. The capacities of the protein-vitamin concentrates (BVK) plant were first limited by 50 percent, and later by 75 percent, and production was also reduced at certain enterprises of the Angarsknefteorgsintez Association.

Within 24 hours after the taking of these emergency steps, the dramatic "curve" of the outbreak in illnesses took a sharp downward turn. Nature itself did not remain aloof from the calamity: the weather changed sharply and the smog dissipated. Nevertheless, as was reported by the commission of specialists, over the 8-day period 1008 persons requested medical assistance. Among them, 796 persons were considered to be significantly ill, and 111 of them, including 14 children, were hospitalized; two patients are still in serious condition.

"The reason why this situation arose was the systematic effect that has been exerted on the population by the total number of chemical substances, paprine, and other admixtures that have been polluting the atmospheric air in the housing area as a result of the waste products spewed out by the industrial enterprises," Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Belyayev, chief of the Main Sanitation and Epidemiology Administration, RSFSR Ministry of Health, stated. "The authorizing factor that caused the increase in the frequency of requests for medical assistance because of bronchial asthma was the pollution of the atmospheric air by waste products of the BVK plant that contain protein."

But there is something else that is surprising. Many enterprise managers, as well as the workers of the monitoring agencies, called the local atmospheric situation during those sad days completely routine: they said that there had been no emergency-type sudden eruptions of toxic substances, and the enterprises had been operating in the regular mode.

Well, then, let us attempt to look a bit more deeply into this "routine" situation.

Today 774 basic sources of harmful discharge have been registered at the city's industrial enterprises, but, unfortunately, only 454 of them have been provided with protective or gas-trapping equipment. The equipping of many sources of atmospheric pollution has been planned even beyond the 1995 limit. Moreover, as a rule, major measures that, naturally, require considerable expenditures, are not being carried out.

But probably the atmospheric discharge that is the slyest against this background is that produced by the BVK plant, which, incidentally, have been increased recently by 3.1 percent.

The history of the appearance of this enterprise in Angarsk is still an unsolved "secret." Almost 20 years ago, when its construction was being planned, the local authorities were categorically against it. However, despite the opinion expressed by the authorities and by the public, the smokestacks of the VBK plant quickly began to spew out discharge. And this was done although economists predicted the obvious undesirability of the placement of the plant.

As had been assumed, it was impossible, by using the local raw materials, to obtain the liquid paraffins that the enterprise needs. So, for all these years, the raw materials have been brought here from the European part of the country. Moreover, the plant is also contriving to build up its capacities gradually. The enterprise's "successes" are felt by the city dwellers in a palpable way—so to speak, with all the fibers of their lungs. Last year alone sanitation monitoring agencies recorded protein in the city's housing area during 62 24-hour periods. During the current year more than 100 such days have already been recorded, and, moreover, in the new part of the city that has especially dense population, the PDK [maximum permissible concentration] of paprine protein was exceeded by 18.8 percent.

For many years the current situation in Angarsk developed, as the expression goes, in accordance with the law of accumulation of critical mass. And, in accordance with the same law, it could not have failed to get out of control. The pollution rate of the atmospheric air in the city's housing area, according to data provided by USSR Ministry of Health, "is causing an increase in the number of persons requesting medical aid because of all illnesses, and especially those of the respiratory organs and the nervous system, and has been reducing the defensive-compensatory properties of the organism." During the past 10 years alone, the disease rate for bronchial asthma increased by a factor of 4.5.

According to physicians, among the lung patients in the city today there has already been formed a steady risk group: more than 5000 persons are on the rolls as having various aggrations of bronchial diseases.

The ecological situation in Angarsk, even in its "routine mode," has been aggravated to the maximum extent, and, unfortunately, no one so far will give a guarantee that tomorrow, with the same climatic conditions, the same emergency will not be repeated to an even greater extent. True, the commission has made recommendations that are aimed at achieving the fastest improvement of the situation. First of all, it was recommended that a final decision be made to stop the buildup of new production entities in the industrial zone of Angarsk and to curtail certain current ones, especially those that are obsolescent. It is necessary to create a single center to monitor the ecological situation, within the confines of which there would be an independent interdepartmental laboratory-monitoring service. It was also decided to remove the limitation on the capacities of the BVK plant only after the introduction there of a system of complete thermal burning that guarantees, according to representatives of the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, complete gas purification.

But will we ever get so far as the complete implementation of all this? Won't we become complacent and turn away from this? Won't we turn things back, lulling the public's vigilance with new zigzags of departmental promises? I ask these questions not because I do not believe. As long as I live, I can hope. But doubts do exist. And not without reason.

"USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry does not see any justifications (for reducing the production at the Angarsk BVK plant by 75 percent) and it deems it necessary to remove the limitation. The production mode falls within the limits of the regulating indicators, and there have been no violations in which the protein in the city and in the sanitation-protection zone exceeds the maximum permissible limit. The reduction of production will lead by the end of the year to a loss of commercial output with a total value of 7.5 million rubles..." This is the text of a telegram signed by L. P. Telegin, first deputy minister of USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, and addressed to I. F. Laptev, chief sanitation physician of Angarsk. He also received a letter signed by the chairman of the labor collective's council, the secretary of the party organization and the chairman of the trade-union committee of the BVK plant, with a warning that, if the detrimental effect of the BVK discharge is not proven, the enterprise's "forfeit" should be deducted from the city's sanitation-monitoring agencies.

Even after signing the commission's findings, the persons present in Angarsk—V.P. Padalkin, first deputy chief, Main Scientific-Technical Administration, USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, and V.V. Kuzin, general director of the Irkutskbioprom

Production Association—nevertheless appended to it their own "special opinion," which briefly states that it would be completely incorrect to assert that the discharge from the BVK plant has become a kind of detonator for the explosion of the disease rate. Their arguments? The same old one. "No significant violations of the technological process, or of amounts of protein exceeding the maximum permissible limit, have been established."

How can that be!

Dozens of people were hospitalized, thousands are suffering from chronic respiratory diseases, there have been instances when newborn infants have had disorders of the immune system, but the fellows at the ministry and at the enterprise "do not see any justification. Instead, they calculate the losses in rubles and feel that everything is "within the limits of the regulating indicators," and have apparently forgotten that people's health should be subordinated only to absolute values. Because, even if the total "commercial output" in the world were all added together, it will never be more valuable than a single human life.

Instead of Commentary

Under the pressure of public opinion in Angarsk, last Wednesday a meeting of city dwellers was held at the Neftekhimik House of Culture. All those who wanted to attend that meeting were unable to do so. Hundreds of people continued to stand in the square in front of the building. So the leaders of the city's ecological movement suggested conducting the meeting in the square or at the stadium. But they were not allowed to do that. It apparently turned out that it was more convenient and more customary for the authorities to meet under a roof and behind the presidium table. It was not until after a persistent demand made by the meeting participants that loudspeakers were installed in the square in front of the House of Culture so that people could hear everything being discussed inside. For five hours the public remained in the square.

Feeling pain for the health of their loved ones, and alarmed at the situation, people turned for help to the city's party, soviet, and economic administrators, as well as to representatives of the ministries. They demanded immediate and extraordinary measures to improve the ecological situation in Angarsk. A recommendation was made and adopted to conduct a citywide referendum on the question of whether or not the BVK plant should exist in Angarsk.

And one last thing. The oblast procuracy has initiated a criminal case involving instances of mass poisoning of people.

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